THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE.

Dürer's painting (1510), showing the insignia of later Emperors. Contemporary portraits all show Charlemagne without a beard.

ESSENTIALS

IN

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

(FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

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ESSEN. MED. HIST.

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PREFACE

In a large number of colleges, the first course in European history consists of a general survey of mediæval and modern history; and with the increased acceptance by secondary schools of the programme in history prepared by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association, it is becoming feasible to begin such a course with the time of Charlemagne. Even with this limitation, however, it is still a problem, in many institutions, how to cover in the limited time at the disposal of the instructor the many topics which such a course should comprise. Especially is this the case now that the best authorities — wisely enough — are insisting upon a fuller and more detailed treatment of more recent history, that included (let us say) within the limits of the last century and a half. The great problem is, then, how to compress the earlier part of the course so as to give adequate time for the more vital things nearer our own day.

One way which has been proposed for accomplishing this is the elimination of a great deal of what is usually taught concerning the political history of the Middle Ages. One advocate of this method proposes the heroic policy of skipping directly from Charlemagne to Otto I. The author of this book believes heartily in the principle underlying this proposal, though he doubts the wisdom of its literal application. By careful selection of the facts to be taught, and placing them in text-book form in the hands of students, he believes that it is possible to accomplish the needful economy of time, while sacrificing little of the continuity of the history, or of the just

apprehension of the fundamental features of mediæval life and institutions. It is to meet such a need, in elementary college classes in mediæval history, that this book is issued in this form.

It is perhaps needless to say that it is not expected that the book will comprise the whole of the instruction given, even in an elementary course, in this field. Formal and informal lectures by the instructor, collateral reading in the books referred to at the close of the chapters, the use of a source book such as that prepared by Ogg or by Robinson, the preparation of maps to fix geographical facts, and of occasional essays or reports to broaden here and there the narrow trail of classroom instruction, — all these are presupposed as means of equal if not greater value than the text-book itself. The book affords what it is hoped will be found to be a clear, scholarly, compact outline, which can be filled in in various ways. Its aim is to be accurate in substance and definite in statement, to seize the vital and interesting facts, and as far as possible to give that concreteness of treatment which is necessary in dealing with matters so remote and alien as those which fill the history of the Middle Ages.

These are the ideas which underlie this little book, and it is hoped that its chapters may be as successful elsewhere, as a basis for Freshman instruction in mediæval history, as they have already proved to be in Indiana University.

Bloomington, Indiana.

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SELECT LIST OF BOOKS IN ENGLISH ON MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

Titles marked with an asterisk (*) denote books which are especially valuable.

* Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* N.Y.
Archer, T. A., *The Crusade of Richard I.* (English History from Contemporary Writers.) N.Y.
* Archer, T. A., and Kingsford, C. L., *The Crusades.* (Nations Series.) N.Y.
Balzani, Ugo, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen.* (Epochs of Church History.) N.Y.
* Bémont, C., and Monod, G., *Medieval Europe, 395–1270.* N.Y.
* Bryce, James, *The Holy Roman Empire.* Enlarged and revised edition. N.Y.
Burckhardt, Jacob, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy.* N.Y.
Cambridge Modern History. (Planned by Lord Acton, and written by associated scholars.) Vol. I. N.Y.
Chronicles of the Crusades. (Bohn Library.) N.Y.
Commines, Philip de, *Memoirs, containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., Kings of France, and Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.* (Bohn Library.) N.Y.
Cox, G. W., *The Crusades.* (Epochs.) N.Y.
* Creighton, Mandell (Bishop), *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome.* 6 vols. N.Y.
Emerton, Ephraim, *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages.* Boston.
* Emerton, Ephraim, *Mediæval Europe, 814–1300.* Boston.
Emerton, Ephraim, *Desiderius Erasmus.* N.Y.
Fisher, Herbert, *The Mediæval Empire.* 2 vols. N.Y.
Freeman, E. A., *Historical Essays.* 3 vols. N.Y.
Froissart, *Chronicles.* (G. C. Macaulay's edition of Berner's translation.) N.Y.
Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England.* N.Y.
Gautier, Léon, *Chivalry.* London.
Gibbon, Edward, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Edited by J. B. Bury. 7 vols. N.Y.
Gilman, Arthur, *The Saracens.* (Nations Series.) N.Y.
Guizot, F. P. G., *History of Civilization.* 4 vols. (Bohn Library.) N.Y.
* Henderson, E. F., *History of Germany in the Middle Ages.* N.Y.
* Henderson, E. F., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.* N.Y.
Historians' History of the World. 25 vols. N.Y.
Hodgkin, Thomas, *Charles the Great.* N.Y.
Hutton, W. H., *Philip Augustus.* N.Y.

Kitchin, G. W., *History of France.* 3 vols. Oxford.
Lacroix, Paul, *Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages.* London.
Lacroix, Paul, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages.* London.
Lane-Poole, Stanley, *Saladin.* N.Y.
Lea, H. C., *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.* 3 vols. Philadelphia.
Lea, H. C., *Studies in Church History.* Philadelphia.
* Lodge, Richard, *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273–1494.* N.Y.
McCabe, Joseph, *Abélard.* N.Y.
Masson, Gustave, *Mediæval France.* (Nations Series.) N.Y.
Michelet, Jules, *History of France.* Translated by G. H. Smith. 2 vols. N.Y.
Milman, H. H., *History of Latin Christianity.* 8 vols. in 4. N.Y.
Moeller, Wilhelm, *History of the Christian Church.* 3 vols. N.Y.
Mombert, J. I., *Charles the Great.* N.Y.
Mombert, J. I., *A Short History of the Crusades.* N.Y.
Montalembert, C. F. de T., *The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard.* 7 vols. Edinburgh.
* Munro, D. C. (editor), *Essays on the Crusades.* N.Y.
* Munro, D. C., and Sellery, G. C. (editors), *Medieval Civilization: Selected Studies from European Authors, translated and edited.* Enlarged edition. N.Y.
* Oman, C. W. C., *The Dark Ages, 476–918.* N.Y.
Oman, C. W. C., *Byzantine Empire.* (Nations Series.) N.Y.
Oman, C. W. C., *The History of the Art of War: The Middle Ages.* N.Y.
Pennsylvania, University of, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History.* 6 vols. Philadelphia and New York.
* Poole, Reginald L., *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform.* (Epochs of Church History.) N.Y.
* Robinson, J. H., *Readings in European History.* Vol. I. Boston.
Robinson, J. H., and Rolfe, H. W., *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters.* (Selections from his correspondence, with introduction.) N.Y.
Schaff, Philip, *History of the Christian Church.* 6 vols. N.Y.
* Seignobos, Charles, *The Feudal Régime.* Translated by E. W. Dow. N.Y.
Stephens, W. R. W., *Hildebrand and his Times.* (Epochs of Church History.) N.Y.
Stillé, C. J., *Studies in Mediæval History.* Philadelphia.
Symonds, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy.* 7 vols. N.Y.
* Thatcher, O. J., and McNeal, E. H., *Source Book for Mediæval History.* N.Y.
Thatcher, O. J., and Schwill, Ferdinand, *Europe in the Middle Age.* N.Y.
* Tout, T. F., *The Empire and the Papacy, 918–1273.* N.Y.
Willert, P. F., *The Reign of Louis XI.* N.Y.
* Wylie, J. H., *The Council of Constance to the Death of John Huss.* N.Y.

ESSENTIALS IN MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: THE WORLD IN THE YEAR 800

The division of history into periods is difficult, for two reasons: (1) Changes in history, like changes of the seasons, are gradual, each period merging into the next as imperceptibly as winter into spring. (2) Progress does not take place with equal rapidity in all fields: now artistic activity, now scientific thought, now industrial development, now political organization, forges ahead, while other activities lag behind; now one nation leads, now another. It is difficult to find dates as division points which mark important changes in all these various fields, just as it is difficult to divide a man's life into periods of childhood, youth, manhood, and old age; yet the divisions are real and important.

1. Periods of history

The term "Middle Ages" is often used to cover the whole period from the beginning of the barbarian invasions about 375 A.D., or the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in 476 A.D., to the discovery of America in 1492, or the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In reality three distinct epochs are comprised in this period: (1) The period from about 375 to about 800 was an epoch of transition, to which the term "the Dark Age" may perhaps be applied; it is the time when the invading Germans and the subjects of the Roman Empire were being fused into one people, and when the remains of classical civilization, the institutions of the Germanic barbarians, and Christianity were combining to form

2. Scope of this book

the culture of mediæval Europe. (2) The typical Middle Age begins with the revival of the Western Empire by Charlemagne (800) and lasts till about 1300; it is the age of feudalism, of the might of a church organization ruling every form of human activity, of great struggles between Popes and Emperors. (3) The third division is an epoch of transition, from about 1300 to about 1500; it is the time of the Renaissance, or "rebirth," when men's minds were made more free, and when state, church, art, literature, industry, and society took on new forms. The first of these divisions (375–800) is included in the scope of many text-books of Ancient History; the second and third, covering the years 800–1500, are dealt with in this book.

For us, history is the study of the achievements of European peoples and of their relations with other peoples. India, China, and Japan have civilizations and histories of their own, which bear little on European history. In the Middle Ages, America and Australia were unknown to Europe; of Africa the Mediterranean regions alone were known; and the more distant parts of Asia were revealed only through indirect trade, through westward raids of Asiatic hordes, and through vague reports brought back by a few adventurous missionaries and traders. It is only since the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the accompanying expansion of trade and settlement, that Western civilization has passed beyond the limits of Europe and of Mediterranean Africa and Asia.

3. Geography of Europe

Europe is the smallest of the grand divisions of the earth save Australia, but historically it is the most important. It extends from about 36° to 71° north latitude, or from about the latitude of Cape Hatteras on the Atlantic coast of the United States to that of northernmost Alaska; its climate is much milder than that of the eastern parts of North America and Asia in corresponding latitudes. Its coast line is much broken; its surface is diversified by mountain and

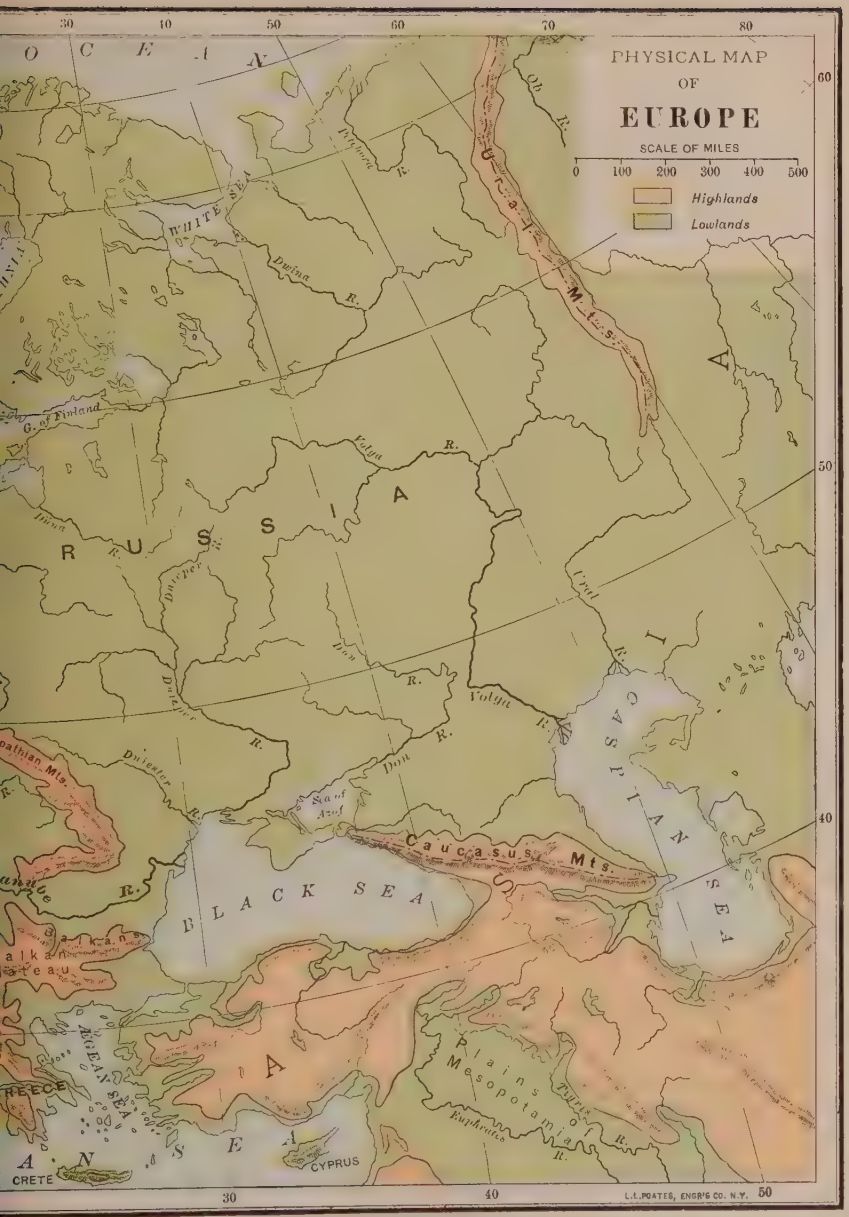
plain; its rainfall is generally plentiful, and there are no deserts except in the extreme southeast. The Mediterranean Sea, with its easily navigable waters, unites it to as well as separates it from neighboring lands. The position, configuration, and climate of Europe have admirably fitted it to receive, develop, and spread to other parts of the globe the ancient civilization which arose in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Geographically Europe is a peninsula of Asia; this has made it possible for great bodies of people at various times to pass from Asia into Europe. In prehistoric times there occurred the migrations of the Aryan peoples, conquering and absorbing the pre-Aryan races: in the south of Europe settled the Greeks and Latins; in the west were established the Celts (Irish, Scots, Britons, Gauls); into the east came the Slavs (Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Servians, etc.); and between were located the Germans, with their near kin the Dutch and the Scandinavians. Whether the original seat of the Aryans was in central Asia or in northern Europe is disputed; it should also be noted that the classification into Aryan and non-Aryan peoples is based upon language, and does not necessarily imply actual kinship of blood. Nevertheless the Aryan peoples constitute a real historic group, with many ideas, institutions, and customs in common, and must be marked off from the Semitic races (Jews, Arabs, Phœnicians), as well as from the so-called Turanian peoples who inhabit central and eastern Asia.

Structurally "the characteristic of Europe is to be more full of peninsulas and islands and inland seas than the rest of the Old World." It consists of three distinct parts: (1) a southern portion comprising the great peninsulas of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and cut off from the central mass by an almost unbroken mountain chain (the Pyrenees, and the Alps with their eastern continuations); (2) a broad central land mass stretching east and west across Eu-

Freeman, Historical Geography of Europe, I. 8

THE ALPS
0 50 100 Miles
Passes
Brenner Pass
Mt. St. Gothard
Mt. Blanc
Mt. Cenis Pass
Gulf of Genoa
Adriatic Sea
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN IS.
BRITISH ISLES
NORTH SEA
Lands End
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
Rhine R.
Vosges Mts.
Black Forest
Jura Mts.
Cevennes
Rhone R.
Pyrenees
SPAIN
C. Finisterre
C. St. Vincent
Str. of Gibraltar
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Gulf of Genoa
ADRIATIC SEA
SICILY
MALTA
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN
10 Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich


PHYSICAL MAP
OF
EUROPE
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Highlands
Lowlands
RUSSIA
Ural Mts.
Caucasus Mts.
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Plains of Mesopotamia
CRETE
CYPRUS
L.E.POATES, ENGR'S CO. N.Y.

rope; and (3) a northern peninsular portion, separated from the central portion by the Baltic Sea, which forms "a kind of secondary Mediterranean." The northern and central portions, especially toward the east, are relatively low, and consist principally of "naked plains and large lakes, exposed to the freezing influences of Asia and the Arctic Ocean." The southern portion, on the other hand, "presents a series of very elevated lands, covered with natural obstacles, varied with cuttings and declivities, bristling with peaks, scalloped with gulfs, furrowed by numerous rivers, cut up into peninsulas, arresting the northern winds, opening up to the winds of Africa freshened by the Mediterranean. . . . The natural accidents of the south, besides being favorable to agriculture and commerce, assure the independence and civilization of their inhabitants; whilst the vast frozen plains of the north have only miserable and savage populations, brutalized under a single government."

Lavallée, Physical, Historical, and Military Geography, 51

The central mountain system of Europe is the Alps, consisting of from 30 to 50 distinct masses, which may be grouped under the two heads of Western Alps and Eastern Alps. (1) The Western Alps or Great Alps (the Alps proper) lie in the form of an arc of a circle stretching a distance of 348 miles from the Gulf of Genoa to Mt. St. Gothard; they comprise three series of parallel ridges, with altitudes of from 3000 to 5000 in the western ridge, 9000 to 15,000 in the central, and 5000 to 8000 in the eastern ridge; the highest peak is Mont Blanc (15,781 feet), the highest mountain in Europe. They are more easily passable by an army coming from France into Italy than from Italy into France. The chief passes are the Simplon (6500 feet), over which Napoleon Bonaparte constructed an admirable road at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the Great St. Bernard (7900 feet), which in spite of its difficulties was used successively by Charlemagne, the Emperor Frederick I., and Napoleon; the Little St. Bernard

4. The mountain systems

(7100 feet); and the Mont Cenis (6700 feet).[1] (2) The Eastern Alps stretch from Mt. St. Gothard to the Adriatic Sea and continue (the Dinaric Alps) along its eastern coast; their altitudes are lower than the Western Alps, and decline as they approach the Adriatic; their chief pass is the Brenner, with an altitude of 4700 feet.

In almost every direction radiate offshoots from this central mountain mass. To the south extend the Apennines, forming the Italian peninsula; to the west are the Cevennes of southern France; to the north appear the Jura, the Vosges, the Black Forest, and other mountains of upper Germany; to the northeast lie the mountains inclosing Bohemia — the Böhmerwald (Bohemian Forest), the Erzgebirge (Ore Mountains), and the Riesengebirge (Giant Mountains) — and the sweeping arc, 700 miles long, of the Carpathians; and to the southeast are the wild and precipitous heights of the Balkans, and the mountains forming the Grecian peninsula.

Only a few groups of mountains in Europe are disassociated from the central mass of the Alps: the Pyrenees, with an average elevation of about 8000 feet, constituting a solid rampart between France and the Spanish peninsula, passable for armies at the eastern and western ends only; and the Scandinavian Mountains, the Scottish Highlands, the Urals, and the lofty Caucasus ridge, of little historical importance.

Three important rivers rise in the neighborhood of Mt. St. Gothard, and flowing in different directions empty into different seas: (1) the Rhine, after receiving as tributaries the Moselle from the west and the Main from the east, and traversing a course of 850 miles, empties into the North Sea (the Meuse, which flows into its delta, is practically a

5. The river systems

[1] In recent years railway tunnels have been driven through the Alps: the Mont Cenis, 7½ miles long, completed in 1871; the St. Gothard, 9¾ miles, completed in 1881; the Arlberg, 6¾ miles, completed in 1884; and the Simplon, 12¼ miles, completed in 1905.

tributary of the Rhine); (2) the Rhone, with the Saône as tributary, flows into the western Mediterranean; (3) the Po, which drains the northern plain of Italy, empties into the Adriatic Sea. The Volga, with its length of 2100 miles, is geographically the most important river of Europe, but historically it counts for little because of its location in the vast plains of eastern Russia. The Danube, Europe's second river in size, with a length of 1600 miles, ranks historically with the Rhine in importance, near whose source it rises, and with which it forms an almost continuous land and water route stretching clear across Europe from the Black Sea to the North Sea. Additional streams of importance are the Garonne, Loire, and Seine, in France; and the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula, in Germany.

6. Geographical units in Europe

The tendency of mountains is to separate, of rivers to unite, adjacent peoples. Physical geography would divide Europe into the following sections: Spain; France (or Gaul) to the Cevennes Mountains; the British Isles; the Rhone-land; the Rhine-land; Italy; the Balkan-land; the Danube-land; North Germany; Bohemia; Russia; Scandinavia. Each of these twelve regions has had its separate history; and modern political divisions follow this grouping with sufficient closeness to show the abiding influence, in history, of geographical factors.

7. Materials for history

All our knowledge of history is based at last upon (1) material remains, such as ruins, monuments, coins, old weapons, armor, household utensils, etc.; (2) official documents, and contemporary descriptions (including pictorial representations) by eye- and ear-witnesses; and (3) oral (or written) traditions, which come to us from persons not in a position to know the facts at first hand. No matter how important an event may have been, if no trace of it has been left in one or another of these ways, we can have no knowledge of it. For the Middle Ages our source materials consist

chiefly of "annals" and "chronicles" in which men (usually monks) wrote down brief accounts of the events of their own times; "capitularies" (decrees of Charlemagne and his successors) and other collections of laws; charters conveying grants of lands and privileges; a few letters of kings, popes, and other eminent men; lives of saints and other persons; and account books and other records of governments, monasteries, and individual landlords. For Modern history there is an ever increasing flood of parliamentary and congressional debates, statutes, memoirs and letters of statesmen and other persons, diaries, daily newspapers, etc. From these materials historians gather the facts of history by a slow and careful process of sifting and comparison, designed to separate the true from the false; and it is not surprising that — as new materials are discovered and made available, and more careful study is given to the old — many views formerly held are shown to be unfounded, and new ones take their place.

8. Modes of reckoning time

The historian must deal with many different systems of reckoning time, used by different peoples and in different ages. The Romans started from the founding of Rome; the Mohammedans count from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca (the "Hegira," in 622 A.D.);[1] the Christians from the birth of Christ (the year 1 A.D.), which by a miscalculation was placed four years too late; in addition, the years of the reigns of kings, emperors, and popes have been used.

The determination of the length of the year presents many difficulties. The "Julian" calendar, arranged by Julius Cæsar, making every fourth year a leap year, was used until the end of the Middle Ages; but this made the year eleven minutes fourteen seconds too long, and by the sixteenth century the

[1] Also, the Mohammedan year is a lunar year, nearly eleven days shorter than ours; so that 34 Mohammedan years are about equal to 33 years of our reckoning.

difference accumulated since the year of the Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.) amounted to nearly ten days. The reformed or "Gregorian" calendar was proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582; this not merely struck out ten days from the calendar of that year (the day after October 4 becoming October 15), but by directing the omission of three leap-year days in every four centuries thereafter, it provided for keeping the calendar year for the future in harmony with the solar year. England did not accept the reformed calendar until 1752; Russia has not yet accepted it, and is now thirteen days behind the other nations in its reckoning of dates. The two calendars are distinguished as "old style" (O. S.) and "new style" (N. S.); and to avoid doubt, dates after 1582 are sometimes given in both systems: in this book such dates are all given according to the "new style." About the time that the Gregorian calendar was adopted in the various countries, the beginning of the year was definitely fixed at the first of January; in other usages it began with the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and with various other dates, — so that up to 1752 in England, for instance, there was confusion as to whether a given date between January 1 and March 25 belonged to the expiring or the beginning year. Within the year, dates were frequently fixed with reference to great church festivals — such as Christmas and Easter — or by the days of the different saints, of which more than two thousand were thus used.

9. Decay of Roman Empire (180–375 A.D.)

For two hundred years after the overthrow of the Roman Republic by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, the Roman Empire prospered, giving unity of government, law, language, and culture to the whole Mediterranean world. Then followed a period of civil war and decay, from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocletian (180–284 A.D.). This decline was temporarily checked by the reorganization of the empire carried out by Diocletian and by Constantine the Great (died 337), whereby the empire was

divided into an eastern and a western half (regularly after 395), was made entirely despotic, and the capital was removed to Constantinople. With Constantine also came the end of the persecutions of the Christians, and the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the state.

But these changes could not long check the decay, which was due (1) to a great decrease in population, caused by famines, wars, and pestilence; (2) to unwise laws about taxes, by which men became fixed in their stations and occupations, as in hereditary castes, and free peasants became serfs, bound to the soil, while slaves rose in the social scale and blended with the depressed freemen; (3) to widespread luxury and immorality; and (4) to a lack of national feeling, resulting from despotism in the government and the general employment in the army of Germanic barbarians, who also were settled by the government in large numbers on waste lands within the empire.

10. Invasions of the Germans (376–476)

At the end of the fourth century came a more rapid decline, due to the entrance into the Roman Empire of whole nations of German barbarians. The Visigoths, attacked in the rear by Huns from Asia, crossed the Danube frontier, overthrew and slew the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in 378, and under their young king Alaric ravaged Greece, overran Italy, and sacked Rome (410); under Alaric's successors they established a Germanic kingdom in Spain and southern Gaul, which lasted for three centuries (to 711). The example set by the Visigoths was speedily followed by other nations. The Vandals overran Gaul and Spain; and upon the coming of the Visigoths to the latter land, they passed over into Africa (429), there to rule for a hundred and five years. The Franks, who were settled about the lower Rhine, gradually occupied northern Gaul; the Burgundians, passing from the middle Rhine to the Rhone valley, established there a kingdom which lasted until 534; the Angles and Saxons, in-

vading Britain in their piratical vessels (about 449), established kingdoms which later consolidated into the kingdom of England. In 451 the savage Huns extended their raids into the heart of Gaul, but were turned back by the united efforts of Romans and Visigoths; and the death two years later of their leader Attila, "the Scourge of God," released Europe from the dread of Asiatic dominion.

At Rome the last of a line of weak and foolish Emperors of the West came to an end in the year 476, when Odoacer, the leader of the German mercenaries in the Roman army, deposed young Romulus Augustulus, himself assumed the title of "king," and sent ambassadors to lay at the feet of the Eastern Emperor at Constantinople the imperial crown and purple robe, professing that one Emperor was enough for both East and West.

11. Ostrogoths and East Romans (476–555)

For some years Odoacer enjoyed his "kingdom" over the mercenaries in peace; but in 493 he was defeated and murdered by the king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric the Great, who had come into Italy with his people, commissioned by the Eastern Emperor to overthrow the usurper. Theodoric (493–526) had been brought up as a youth at Constantinople, and entertained wise and beneficent plans for the union of his Ostrogoths with the Italian provincials into one nation; but in spite of his efforts the attempt failed, mainly through religious differences, the Ostrogoths (in common with most of the German barbarians) being Arian Christians (an heretical sect), while the orthodox Catholic religion prevailed in the Roman Empire.

The reign of the Emperor Justinian (527–565) greatly strengthened the Eastern Empire, and also profoundly influenced the West. Justinian was a great builder and civilizer, and codified the Roman law into the *Code*, *Digest*, and *Institutes*, which preserved it to influence the world to the present day. He was also a great conqueror, and his generals Beli-

sarius and Narses overthrew not only the Vandal kingdom in Africa (533), but also the weakened Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy (553). For a few brief years the Roman Empire once more ruled Italy, northern Africa, the islands of the western Mediterranean, and even southern Spain; never again was its power to touch so high a point.

INTERIOR OF MOSQUE OF CORDOVA, SPAIN. Present condition. Built by Mohammedans in the 8th and 10th centuries.

12. Rise of Mohammedanism (622–732)

The beginning of the seventh century saw the rise of a new religion and a new political power, through the teachings of Mohammed (571–632), who united the Arabs, rescued them from the worship of sticks and stones, and taught them there was but one true God (Allah), of whom Mohammed was the Prophet. The teaching of Mohammed was embodied in the Koran; it contains Jewish, Christian, and Persian elements, and along with many good and noble ideas are mixed baser elements tainted by the ignorance, cruelty, and sensuality of seventh-century Arabs.

By the year 631 all Arabia had accepted Mohammed's teaching, and fanatical zeal and lust of rule urged on a movement of foreign conquest such as the world had never seen. In eighty years Mohammedanism conquered more terri-

tory than Rome conquered in four centuries: Syria, Persia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain passed under the rule of the caliphs, successors of Mohammed; but in Gaul, in 732, the Mohammedans were checked by the Franks under Charles

CONQUESTS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS.

Martel in the battle of Tours; and this defeat, combined with internal dissensions, saved Europe from a further advance of their power in this direction.

13. Lombards and the papacy (568–774)

Within fifteen years after the overthrow of the Ostrogoths, a new Germanic people, the Lombards, appeared in Italy to take their place. In a short time the Lombards conquered the greater part of northern Italy, to which their name (Lombardy) is still given; and soon they possessed the greater part, but not all, of the peninsula: officers of the Eastern Emperors still ruled a considerable district about the mouth of the river Po (Exarchate of Ravenna), together with the district about Rome (*Ducatus Romanus*), and the southern points of the peninsula. The main result of the incompleteness of the Lombard conquest was the rise of a new temporal power vested in the Pope, who was bishop of Rome and head of the Christian church.

The Lombards were among the most barbarous of the Germanic nations, and they were long viewed by the Romans with the fiercest hatred and loathing, even after they put aside their Arianism and accepted Catholic Christianity. Owing to the distance and weakness of the Eastern Emperors, power

in the city of Rome gradually passed into the hands of its bishops or Popes, among whom Leo I. (440–461) and Gregory I. the Great (590–604) were most noteworthy; and in 729 the Pope threw off his allegiance to the Emperor as a result of the Emperor's decree against the use of images in worship (the Iconoclastic Controversy). At about the same time the Lombards conquered the Exarchate of Ravenna (727); it then seemed as if the Pope would escape from the rule of the Emperor only to fall under that of the hated Lombards; but from this danger the papacy was saved by an appeal to another Germanic people, the most notable of all — the Franks.

14. Rise of the Franks (481–768)

Of all the Germanic peoples who pressed into the Continental provinces of Rome, only the Franks in Gaul established an enduring kingdom; hence for centuries the history of the Frankish power makes the largest part of the history of Europe. Their king Clovis (481–511) laid its basis by his consolidation of the Franks under one rule, and his conquests of neighboring peoples. Within fifty years after his death, most of Gaul and the Rhine valley were under Frankish sway. Many of the descendants of Clovis proved weak rulers; and the broils and feuds of the nobles, the turbulence and lawlessness of the freemen, produced great disorder. In spite of these evils, and in spite of frequent divisions of the territory among the sons of deceased kings, the power of the Franks as a people did not decline. Alongside of the "do-nothing" (*fainéant*) Merovingian kings, descendants of Clovis, arose strong "mayors of the palace," who exercised the real power. In Austrasia (the kingdom of the East Franks) the mayors of the palace became especially strong, for the office was practically hereditary in the powerful family of the Pepins (Carolingians), who possessed wide estates and numerous followers. Under chiefs of this house the East and West Franks were reunited, with one king and one mayor of the palace, and the Mohammedans were beaten back.

GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH KINGDOM.

To Charles Martel, the victorious mayor of the palace in the battle of Tours, the Pope appealed in vain for aid against the Lombards. In 751, however, Pope Zacharias enabled Charles's son, Pepin the Short, to seize the throne, by declaring "that the man who held power in the kingdom should be called king and be king, rather than he who falsely bore that name": with this warrant the last of the Merovingian kings of the Franks was "deposed, shorn, and thrust into a cloister," and Pepin was raised upon a shield in old Teutonic (Germanic) fashion and hailed as king in his stead (751–768). Pepin twice marched into Italy against the Lombards, at the Pope's request; the second time (756) he forced the Lombard king to give hostages, pay tribute, and surrender the Exarchate, which Pepin thereupon granted to the Pope. Thus the Pope became an important secular prince, by secur-

Einhard, Charlemagne, ch. 1

ing the old imperial dominions in central Italy; and thus too was laid the basis of a close connection between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy, which to each was to prove of the utmost importance.

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15. Summary: Europe about the year 800

About 800, the time with which this book begins, the barbarian invasions were practically over, the church was rising to a position of supreme power, feudalism was giving a new organization to society, and a new Empire was about to be founded in the West, to last (in name at least) for a thousand years. The old doctrinal disputes about the fundamental beliefs of Christianity were settled; but a church schism or separation was arising between East and West, involving differences of worship and discipline, and ultimately leading to the entire rejection of the papal authority in the East. The Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire still ruled Asia Minor, Thrace, portions of ancient Greece and southern Italy, and the islands of Crete, Sicily, and Sardinia; but the Bulgarians (an Asiatic people) had cut off the lower valley of the Danube, and barbarian Slavs formed an alien wedge running completely through the interior of the Balkan peninsula and into the Peloponnesus. North of the Danube dwelt Asiatic and Slavic peoples; and to the north of these, Finnish tribes: these peoples were still heathen, and the slow progress of Christianity among them was one of the features of the Mid-

THE KNOWN WORLD IN 800.

dle Ages. Scandinavia was taking on its threefold form of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; but the worship there of the old Teutonic gods was as yet unshaken. In the British Isles, the Teutonic English had settled, been Christianized, and were about to unite into a single kingdom; but Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, though Christian, were independent Celtic lands. In northern Spain there existed petty Christian states which in the next seven centuries were to grow into a powerful monarchy and cast out the Mohammedans. But the central political fact in the West was the existence of the Frankish kingdom, ruled over by Charlemagne, the grandson of Charles Martel.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why do we not study the history of China in the Middle Ages? (2) Why should the term "Middle Ages" be plural? (3) Why is our knowledge of history less certain than our knowledge of the physical sciences? (4) What geographical advantages has Europe over Asia? over Africa? (5) Why was Europe not so well fitted to originate as to develop and spread civilization? (6) In what ways would its history have been different if Europe were entirely surrounded by water? (7) What did Greece contribute to the civilization of the world? (8) What did Rome contribute? (9) What did the Germans add? (10) Summarize the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire. (11) Has Mohammedanism done more harm or good in the world? (12) Compare the area of Mohammedanism in 800 with its area to-day. (13) Compare the area of Christianity in 800 with its area to-day.

Search topics

(14) Ways in which geography influences history. (15) The passes of the Alps. (16) Geographical factors in the development of some European towns. (17) Influence of the Roman law. (18) Rise of the mayors of the palace. (19) Alliance between the Franks and the papacy. (20) The life of Mohammed. (21) His teachings. (22) The farthest extent of Mohammedan conquests. (23) Battle of Tours. (24) The old Teutonic mythology. (25) The wanderings and settlements of the Visigoths. (26) The wanderings and settlements of the Ostrogoths. (27) Character and work of Theodoric the Great. (28) Settlement of the Burgundians. (29) Settlement of the Lombards. (30) The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.

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EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLEMAGNE
768-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IRELAND
SCOTTISH KINGDOMS
PICTISH KINGDOM
BRITISH KINGDOMS
ENGLAND
WALES
London
York
Dublin
Iona
NORTHUMBRIA
DENMARK
Saxons
Thuringians
AUSTRASIA
Aix-la-Chapelle
Rheims
Strasburg
Ratisbon
Tours
Poitiers
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Narbonne
Lyons
Burgundians
Lombards
Ravenna
Rome
Naples
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Pyrenees Mts.
Roncesvalles
ASTURIAS
Douro R.
Salamanca
Toledo
Cordova
OMMIAD CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Ebro R.
SPANISH MARCH
Gothic
Bretons
NEUSTRIA
FRANKISH
AQUITANIA
Basques
Lombardy
Tunis
Sicily
Longitude West 0 Longitude East 10 from Greenwich

20
30
40
50
60
Tribes
G. of Finland
KINGDOM OF THE KHAZARS
Poles
Dnieper
Dniester
Carpathian Mts.
Magyars
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Bulgarians
Danube R.
Balkan Mts.
Adrianople
THRACE
Constantinople
Bosphorus
Nicea
ASIA MINOR
EMPIRE
GREECE
PELOPONNESUS
CRETE
CYPRUS
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Bagdad
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
Alexandria
ARABIA
ABBASSIDES
THE
SEA
L.L. POATES, ENGRG CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE (768-814)

16. Charlemagne's conquests

Upon the death of Pepin the Short in 768, his sons Carloman and Charles the Great (Charlemagne) succeeded him, ruling jointly; but in 771 Carloman died, and thenceforth Charlemagne ruled alone. Charlemagne's reign saw a long series of wars, undertaken to extend the limits of the Frankish territory, or to ward off attacks from without. During the forty-six years that he ruled (768–814) he sent out more than fifty military expeditions, at least half of which he commanded in person. They were directed against the Aquitanians and Bretons of France (3 expeditions); the Lombards of northern Italy (5); the Saracens, or Mohammedans, of Spain and southern Italy (12); the German Thuringians and Bavarians (2); the Avars and Slavs (8); the Danes (2); the Greeks (2), and, most of all, against the Saxons (18), descendants of the tribes from which, three hundred years earlier, had come the Teutonic conquerors of Britain.

For more than two centuries the Franks had waged intermittent warfare with the heathen and barbarous Saxons, who dwelt in the trackless forests, swamps, and plains bordering on the North Sea, between the rivers Ems and Elbe. Charlemagne resolved to end the struggle by Christianizing as well as subjugating these troublesome neighbors; but the task required thirty years for its completion (772–804), it was attended by nine successive rebellions, and was stained by the one great act of cruelty of Charlemagne's reign — the massacre of 4500 prisoners (782). The most troublesome tribes were transported

to other parts of the empire, throughout Saxony fortresses were established and bishoprics founded (around which grew up the first towns), and Christianity was forced upon the population at the point of the sword; so strict were the laws that converts who ate meat in Lent were condemned to death, unless absolved by a Christian priest. Political and religious opposition was at last crushed, and within a few generations the Saxons became the most powerful nation in the Frankish realm.

Even more important than the Saxon wars were those with the Lombards. In spite of the two expeditions of Pepin the Short (§ 14), the power of the Lombards continued to be a menace to the papacy; also the Lombard king harbored pretenders to a share in Charlemagne's kingdom. When, therefore, the Pope appealed to Charlemagne in 773 against King Desiderius, the Frankish king marched to his assistance. In 774–776 he completely conquered the Lombard kingdom and assumed the famous "iron crown," with its narrow circlet reputed to have been made from one of the nails of the Crucifixion. He then renewed his father Pepin's gift to the Pope of the temporal dominion of Ravenna and other parts of Italy. The conquest of Lombardy and the donation of the papal states were two of the most important acts of Charlemagne's reign: they brought the king of the Franks into closer relations with the papacy, and prepared the way for the revival of the Western Empire on a Germanic basis.

17. Revival of the Empire in the West

The lands over which Charlemagne ruled in 800 included what are now France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, more than half of Germany and Italy, and parts of Austria and Spain (maps, pp. 26, 30); and over the "eternal city" of Rome itself he exercised supreme authority by virtue of the title "Patricius," given him by the Pope. The extent of Charlemagne's power made him already in fact, though not in name, the Emperor of the West. The ruler at Constan-

tinople in the year 800 was a woman, the Empress Irene, who had just deposed her son, put out his eyes, and seized the power for herself; the West refused to recognize her rule and looked on the throne of the empire as vacant. What was more natural than that it should be given to the king of the Franks, the real ruler of the West? Charlemagne was quite prepared for this step, but by whom should the imperial crown be conferred? By the Pope, who had authorized Pepin's assumption of the royal crown? By the people of Rome, as in the ancient days when Roman Senate and people were still sovereign? Or should it be accounted something which belonged to Charlemagne by virtue of his conquests?

18. Coronation of Charlemagne (800)

Whatever solution Charlemagne had in mind, the circumstances of the coronation were not of his arranging. The close of the year 800 found him in the city of Rome. As Charlemagne prayed at the solemn celebration of Christmas, kneeling by the altar in the old church of St. Peter's, Pope Leo III. placed a crown upon his head, while the people cried, "To Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific Emperor, be life and victory." According to Einhard, his secretary and biographer, Charlemagne declared that "he would not have set foot in the church, . . . although it was a great feast day, if he could have foreseen the design of the Pope."

Einhard, Charlemagne, ch. 28

The coronation of Charlemagne, in the language of an English writer, "is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also one of those very few events of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different." Of all the mediæval rulers, Charlemagne was the only one in whom the Empire of the West could have been restored. Only he, by his genius and the splendor of his victories, was able to make the principle of unity of government triumph over the tendency towards separation, disorder, and anarchy.

Bryce, Holy Roman Empire (revised ed.), 50

CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE.
Fresco (19th century) in Hotel de Ville, Aix-la-Chapelle.

Following the principle adopted by the Germanic conquerors, Charlemagne left to each race — Franks, Burgundians, Romans, Lombards, Goths, Bavarians, Saxons — its own law, making only such changes by his decrees, or "capitularies," as the good of the state and society demanded. For in the early Middle Ages there was little attempt at what we should call legislation; the "law" of each individual was an inheritance from the past of his race, and as much a part of him as the breath which he drew. Taxes paid to the state also disappeared with the fall of the Roman Empire; and Charlemagne's needs were supplied, like those of most mediæval rulers, chiefly from the proceeds of his own estates (*villæ*), for which elaborate regulations were made; the king usually

19. Charlemagne's government

traveled from vill to vill with his suite, to consume the produce arising on each estate. On the other hand, public offices, military service, and the like, were unpaid, and the financial needs of the state were less than now.

Under the Merovingians the kingdom had been divided into local districts, ruled by officers called "counts," appointed by the king. These were kept by Charlemagne as the chief officers of local government; in their hands was placed the military leadership, and the administration of justice. To supervise their work, royal commissioners (*missi dominici*) were sent out each year to inspect the national militia, hear complaints against the counts, enforce justice, and guard the interests of the king. Usually the commissioners were sent out two and two — a layman and an ecclesiastic.

The counts were often guilty of great oppression; a capitulary dated 803 reads: "We hear that the officers of the counts and some of their more powerful vassals are collecting rents and insisting on forced labors, harvesting, plowing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading wagons and the like, not only from the church's servants, but from the rest of the people; all which practices must, if you please, be put a stop to by us and by all the people, because in some places the people have been in these ways so grievously oppressed that many, unable to bear their lot, have escaped by flight from their masters or patrons, and the lands are relapsing into wilderness." Such oppressions led the king to grant "immunities," by which lands and men, especially of bishops and abbots, were removed from the jurisdiction of the counts. These immunities formed one of the important bases of later feudalism.

Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, VIII. 298

20. The May Field

Twice a year, in early summer and in the fall or winter, Charlemagne summoned the principal men to consult with him concerning the affairs of the empire. To the summer meeting, called the "Field of May," came all free men

capable of bearing arms, and often the meeting was at once followed by a military expedition. A general assembly in his reign is pictured by a modern writer as follows: "An immense multitude is gathered together in a plain, under tents; it is divided into distinct groups. The chiefs of the groups assemble about the king, and deliberate with him; then each of these makes known to his own people what has been decided, consults them perhaps, at any rate obtains their assent with as little difficulty as the king has obtained his own, for these men are dependent on him just as he is dependent on the king. The general assembly is a composite of a thousand little assemblies which, through their chiefs alone, are united about the prince." The king's will decided everything, the nobles only advised.

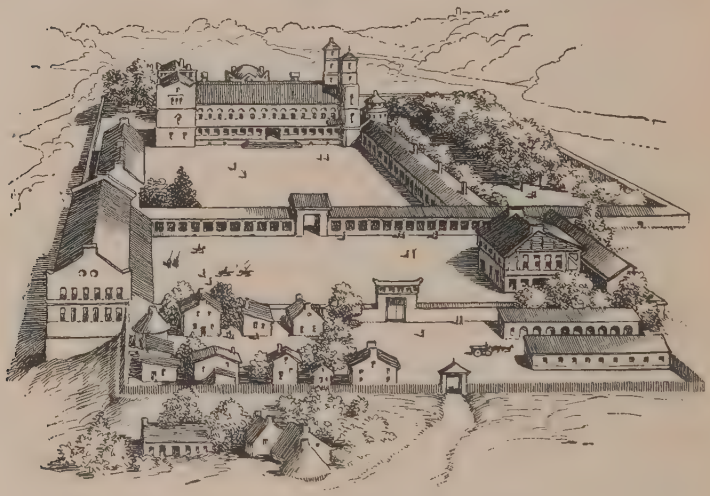
Fustel de Coulanges, VI. 613

In these assemblies Charlemagne dealt with matters concerning church and state alike; whenever he believed that priests or bishops were not performing their duties properly, he did not hesitate to correct them. Charlemagne's government was far from being as free and orderly as the governments under which most European nations live to-day; yet when we consider the difficulties of the time, and compare his government with that of his successors, we find him an able administrator as well as a great warrior.

21. Education and the arts

The literatures of Greece and Rome had disappeared from use when Charlemagne came to the throne, and even the writings of the church scarcely survived. The only "books" were costly parchment rolls written by hand. The two centuries from 600 to 800 produced only a few credulous lives of saints, and some barren "annals," or dry monastic histories. Charlemagne himself learned to speak and read Latin, in addition to his native German, and to understand Greek, though not to speak it. He never mastered the art of writing as then used, though he kept waxed tablets always by him to practice it.

The Palace School — a kind of learned academy composed of the chief scholars and courtiers about the Emperor — played an important part in a revival of learning and literature. An Englishman named Alcuin was invited to the Emperor's court from York, which was then the most learned center in western Europe, and he became the chief scholar of the new circle. Others came from Italy, Spain, and other lands; some were



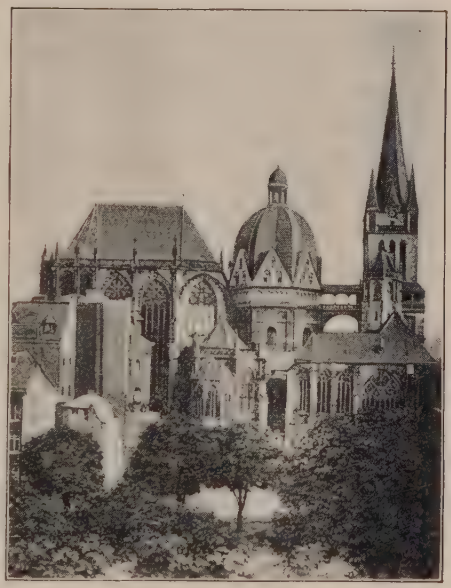
ROYAL PALACE OF CAROLINGIAN TIMES.
From Viollet-le-Duc.

grammarians, some poets, some theologians. Charlemagne discussed with them astronomy, shipbuilding, history, the text of the Scriptures, theology, and moral philosophy. For the younger members of the royal family and court, there was more formal instruction, so that the Palace School may be regarded as a high school, as well as a literary and debating club.

Charlemagne's care for education did not stop with his own court, since we read in the capitularies such commands as these: "Let schools be established in which boys may learn

to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with all diligence."

Robinson, Readings, I. 146



CATHEDRAL AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The octagon at center of the picture was built by Charlemagne; it is an example of the Byzantine style.

Charlemagne was also a builder, planning canals, building bridges, and restoring churches which were crumbling into ruin. But his work in this direction did little to check the artistic decay of the times. From the old residence of the emperors at Ravenna, a hundred marble columns were taken for Charlemagne's palace at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle); thither also were transported pictures, mosaics, and precious sculptures. Charlemagne thus set a bad example to the ages which followed, and contributed to a robbery of the ancient monuments which, in the Middle Ages, caused more destruction among them than was caused by all the ravages of time and war.

The ten years following Charlemagne's coronation as Emperor were mainly spent at his capital Aachen. The only serious danger of the time came from the Scandinavian "Vikings" (creek men), whose piratical raids, beginning in this reign, foreshadowed the greater troubles of a century later. Charlemagne's prestige abroad was at its height; and to his court came envoys from the renowned Haroun-al-Rashid, caliph of Bagdad, whose present of an enormous elephant excited the liveliest interest at the Frankish court.

22. Charlemagne's old age and death (814)

The last years of the great Emperor's life were clouded by family sorrows. He had been married five times and had many children. In arranging for the succession Charlemagne followed the old Teutonic practice of dividing the kingdom among his three sons, whom he established as sub-kings in his lifetime over portions of his realm. One of the chief differences in the position of the monarch, as conceived by the Roman emperors and by the barbarian kings, was that the Roman emperors in theory held their power as a trust in the name and interest of the state, — that is, of all, — while the barbarian kings regarded the royal power as private property, to which ordinary rules of inheritance could be applied. Charlemagne's arrangement, however, broke down, owing to the fact that his two older sons died before him; then Charlemagne placed the imperial crown on the head of his third son, Louis, and recognized him as his successor. Four months later, in January, 814, the old Emperor died of a fever, being upward of seventy years of age.

Few men have left a deeper impression on their times, and around few have clustered so many legends. His personality and habits are thus described by his secretary, Einhard: —

23. Character of Charlemagne

"Charles was large and strong, and of lofty stature, though not disproportionately tall. The upper part of his head was round, his eyes very large and animated, nose a little long, hair fair, and face laughing and merry. Thus,

his appearance was always stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting. He took frequent exercise on horseback and in the chase. He enjoyed natural warm springs, and often practiced swimming, in which he was such an adept that none could surpass him; and thence it was that he built his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, and lived there constantly during his latter years until his death.

Einhard, Charlemagne, chs. 22–24 (condensed)

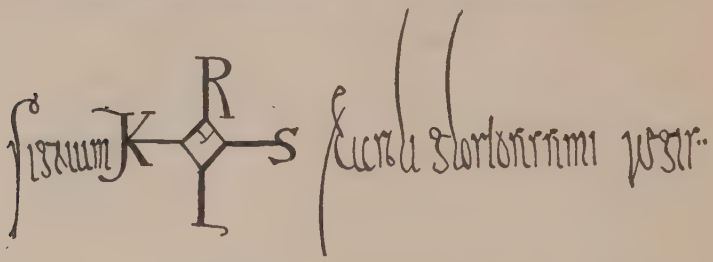
"He used to wear the national, that is to say, the Frank, dress, — next his skin a linen shirt and linen breeches, and above these a tunic fringed with silk; while hose fastened by bands covered his legs, and shoes his feet, and he protected his shoulders and chest in winter by a close-fitting coat of otter or marten skins. Over all he flung a blue cloak, and he always had a sword girt about him.

ROASTING ON A SPIT.
From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

"Charlemagne was temperate in eating and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fast days injured his health. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish. While at table he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the readings were the stories and deeds of olden time; he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled *The City of God.*

"While he was dressing and putting on his shoes, he not only gave audience to his friends, but if the Count of the Palace [the

chief judge of the Court] told him of any suit in which his judgment was necessary, he had the parties brought before him forthwith, took cognizance of the case, and gave his decision, just as if he were sitting on the judgment-seat."



SIGNATURE OF CHARLEMAGNE (790).

Charlemagne made only the central part of the monogram KAROLVS (= Charles); the scribe wrote the rest, together with the words to the left and to the right, which are Latin for "Signature of Charles, the most glorious King."

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24. Summary

Pepin the Short (751–768) deposed the last Merovingian "do-nothing" king of the Franks, and became the first king of the Carolingian line. His son, Charlemagne, began his sole rule in 771 and reigned until 814. He was the central figure of his time, and was one of the most remarkable men produced by the Middle Ages. He greatly extended his kingdom through successful wars, ruled well in church and state, revived the Empire of the West in 800, and checked the decline of learning. With his coronation as Emperor a new age begins; force alone no longer rules; and great ideas, such as those which gave strength to the Papacy and the Empire, begin to play a part amid the strife of nations.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What did Clovis contribute to the development of the Frankish power? What did Charles Martel contribute? What did Pepin the Short contribute? What did Charlemagne contribute? (2) In what consisted the greatness of Charlemagne? (3) Why was the papacy more friendly to the Franks than to the other

barbarians? (4) Compare the German ideas of law with modern ideas. (5) Was it better for the Saxons to receive civilization from the Franks by force, or to work out a civilization of their own? (6) Compare the extent of territory ruled over by Charlemagne with that ruled by the Eastern Emperor.

(7) Contemporary accounts of the coronation of Charlemagne. (8) Alcuin. (9) Make a list of the other scholars of Charlemagne's court, with the countries of their birth and the things for which they are remembered. (10) The home life of the Franks in the time of Charlemagne. (11) The wars against the Saxons. (12) The wars against the Lombards. (13) Charlemagne's visit to Rome in 774. (14) The massacre of the Saxons. (15) Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*. **Search topics**

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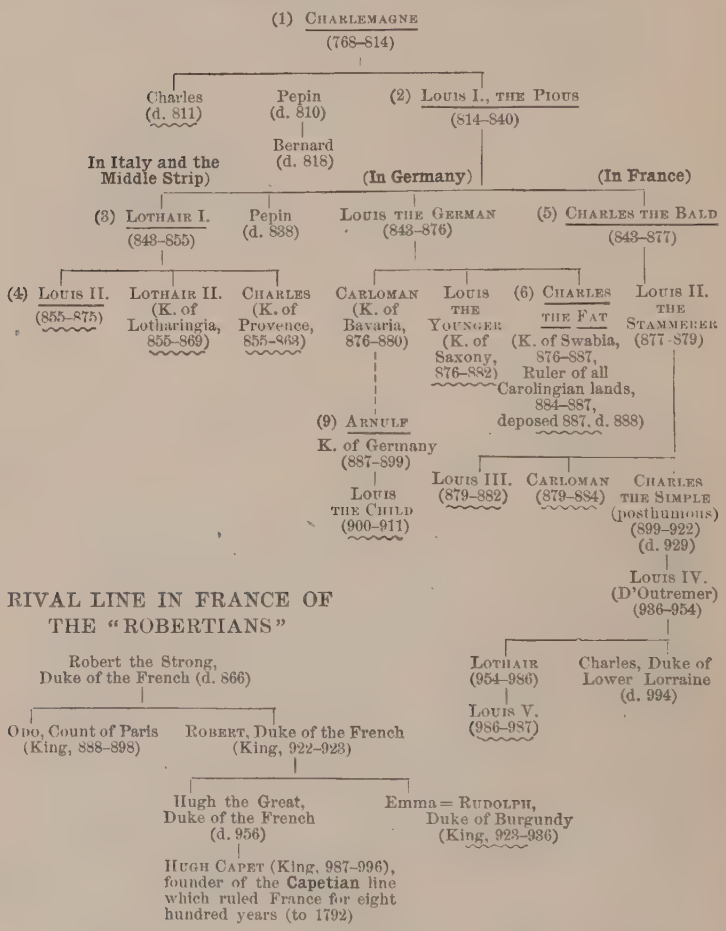
THE DESCENDANTS OF CHARLEMAGNE



RIVAL LINE IN FRANCE OF THE "ROBERTIANS"

Robert the Strong, Duke of the French (d. 866)
Odo, Count of Paris (King, 888–898)
ROBERT, Duke of the French (King, 922–923)
Hugh the Great, Duke of the French (d. 956)
Emma = RUDOLPH, Duke of Burgundy (King, 923–936)
HUGH CAPET (King, 987–996), founder of the Capetian line which ruled France for eight hundred years (to 1792)

Explanation

——— Names underscored thus are those of members of the Carolingian house who bore the title of Emperor. The seventh and eighth emperors, beginning to count with Charlemagne, were obscure Italian princes, not of the Carolingian house.

~~~~~ Indicates extinction of the male line.

Indicates illegitimate descent.
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CHAPTER III.

THE LATER CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE (814–911) AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

The power which Charlemagne built up declined rapidly after his death. His son Louis was well-meaning and conscientious, but without a spark of the genius of his father; his care for religion, however, won for him the surname of "the Pious." The chief troubles of Louis's reign arose from his desire to set apart a portion of his kingdom for his youngest son Charles (afterwards called Charles the Bald), as he had done for the older sons; but the latter resented and three times resisted in arms the attempt to deprive them of territories for their young half-brother.

25. Louis the Pious (814–840)

Carolingian Warrior. From Musée d'Artillerie, Paris.

The death of Louis the Pious, in 840, did not end the struggle; and two brothers, Charles the Bald and Louis the German, were soon arrayed against their elder brother, Lothair. All parts of the empire were represented in the decisive battle, which occurred in 841, at Fontenay, in eastern France. Never had so terrible a struggle been seen since Charles Martel fought the Saracens at Tours. One of the officers of Lothair's army describes the battle in a

26. Battle of Fontenay (841)

rude Latin chant: "May that day be accursed!" he cries; "may it no more be counted in the return of the year, but let it be effaced from all remembrance! . . . Never was there worse slaughter! Christians fell in seas of blood; . . . the linen vestments of the dead whitened all the field like birds of autumn."

Angilbert, quoted in Dareste, France, I. 438

The battle resulted in a complete victory for the two younger brothers, who then bound themselves by oaths at Strassburg to mutual aid. The language of these oaths shows the tongues used in the two armies. On the one side the oath began, "In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi. . . ." On the other it read, "Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament. . . ." In English this clause would be, "For the love of God and for the common safety of the Christian people and ourselves. . . ." The first can be recognized as in the language from which the German of to-day is derived; the second is midway between Latin and modern French.

27. Partition of Verdun (843)

After long negotiations a treaty was concluded by the three brothers at Verdun in 843. Louis received the eastern third of the empire, beyond the rivers Aar and Rhine; Charles the western third, lying west of the Rhone and Scheldt; and Lothair the strip between, with Italy and the imperial title. This sweeping partition is the first step in the rise in western Europe of territories corresponding to national states. We must not, however, press this point too far. "These three countries were not states, for a state is an organized political entity; there were no states, properly speaking (at least no great states), before the close of the Middle Ages. Nor were they nations; a nation is a definitely formed, conscious, and responsible person." Territories, however, were marked out by this treaty in which national states were in time to arise. Charles's portion corresponds roughly to modern France, and Louis's to Germany;

Lavisse, General View, 37

PARTITION OF VERDUN (843).

the middle strip contained no elements of nationality, and its parts, together with Italy, were for ten centuries the object of conquests and the seat of European wars.

28. The later Carolingians (843-887)

The history of the later descendants of Charlemagne makes a confused and uninteresting story. The stock itself was enfeebled, and the quarrels and incompetence of rival rulers are not more noteworthy than the speed with which all three lines became extinct. (1) In Italy, Lothair died in 855, and his kingdom was divided among his three sons; the eldest, though ruling only a small fraction of the territory of Charlemagne, was nevertheless styled Emperor. None of the sons of Lothair left male heirs,

so their territories passed upon their deaths to their cousins of France and Germany. (2) In Germany we see the same subdivision among three sons, followed by extinction of the male line, the last of the legitimate descendants of the eastern house being Charles the Fat. (3) In France, Charles the Bald upon his death in 877 left but one son, to whom descended the whole of his kingdom. This king ruled for but two years, and his two sons, who ruled jointly,[1] died within five years thereafter. The nobles then chose as ruler Charles the Fat (884–887), the last of the three sons of Louis the German, in whose hands for a few brief years nearly the whole of Charlemagne's empire was reunited.

29. Raids of the Northmen

The rule of Charles the Fat was as weak as it was short. Since the days of Charlemagne, the danger from the Northmen had become more pressing. From their homes in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, these heathen sea-rovers came each year, in fleets of from a hundred to three hundred vessels, to plunder and destroy. Their invasions may be looked upon as the last wave of the Germanic migrations. The scantiness of their harvests (due to the rigorous climate of the north), a lust for booty, the love of warfare and adventure, and political changes then taking place at home — all impelled these hardy seamen to set forth. England, Scotland, Ireland, and even Italy suffered from their attacks, as well as France and Germany. In their light ships they would ascend the rivers far into the heart of the land, and then seize horses to carry them swiftly to more distant scenes of plunder. In the latter part of the ninth century their invasions took on a new character, and became an emigration and colonization. In England half the kingdom passed into their hands, and was known as the Danelaw (878). In France monasteries and cities were

[1] A third son, Charles the Simple, was born in 879, a few months after the death of his father.

pillaged and burned, great stretches of country fell out of cultivation, and a large part of the population perished through massacre and starvation. Twice Paris itself was sacked. In 885–886 it was again besieged; and in spite of the heroic defense conducted by its count and bishop, the "cowardly, unwieldy, incompetent" king, Charles the Fat, bought off the besiegers by the payment of a large sum of money.

The weakness of Charles the Fat led to his deposition in 887, and the division of the empire among many "little kings." In Italy two rival families struggled in vain to found an Italian kingdom. In Provence, or Lower Burgundy, and in Upper Burgundy, kingdoms were founded which soon united to form the kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles. In all these regions the rule passed from the hands of the Carolingians.

30. Last of the Carolingians (887–987)

In Germany the power passed into the hands of an illegitimate branch of the Carolingian house. Arnulf, nephew of Charles the Fat, began the revolt that overthrew the latter, and for twelve years ruled there as king. In him something of the old Carolingian vigor and courage revived; but his son, Louis the Child, who succeeded him, died in 911, leaving no son, brother, or uncle; and the rule of the descendants of Charlemagne in Germany came permanently to an end.

In France only there existed, after 888, a legitimate representative (Charles the Simple) of the great house founded by the heroic mayors of the palace, and here the Carolingian rule continued, with many vicissitudes, for another century. Count Odo — the count who so bravely conducted the defense of Paris — was chosen king in France in 888, though he was not of the Carolingian house; but in Aquitaine the desire of the nobles for a separate government led them to support the Carolingian prince, Charles the Simple, and refuse to recognize Odo; and after Odo's death (in 898) Charles was

received as king by the whole realm. But the downfall of the Carolingians here was only postponed. In the end (987), the family of Odo triumphed over the last representative of the house of Charlemagne, and in France as elsewhere rulers not of the Carolingian house sat on the throne.

Chief of the forces which broke up the unity of the Carolingian empire was feudalism. In its nature this was both a system of land tenure and a form of military, political, and social organization. In its origin it was a result of the persistent and growing state of anarchy which the Germanic invasions began, and which Charlemagne's rule only temporarily checked. The growing weakness of the government obliged men everywhere to take upon themselves the burden of their own defense. Every lofty hilltop, every river-island and stronghold, became the site of a tower or castle, whose lord ruled the surrounding population. Later these castles were looked upon by the lower classes as centers of oppression, but at first they were often viewed with different sentiments: they were then "the sure places of deposit for their harvests and their goods; in case of incursions they gave shelter to their wives, their children, themselves; each strong castle constituted the safety of a district."

31. Rise of feudalism

Fustel de Coulanges, VI. 682

Three elements are found in the fully developed feudal system, each with a separate history. These are: (1) the personal element — vassalage; (2) the landed element — the benefice, or fief; (3) the political element — the rights of sovereignty exercised by the great seigneurs.

(1) The personal element is that of which the roots go deepest into the past. Under the Roman Empire, when oppressive government and barbarian raids made difficult the position of the poorer freemen, many became the dependents of rich men, and rendered services in return for maintenance and protection. Among the Germans of the

32. Vassalage

time of Tacitus, free-born warriors considered it an honor to enter the *comitatus*, or military following, of a successful chief. In the Frankish kingdom such relationships multiplied, and the Carolingian government sought to use the institution of personal dependence as a means to enforce military and other duties. A capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 847, went so far as to order "that each freeman in our kingdom choose the lord that he wishes." About the year 900, the system of independent freemen had practically disappeared in western Europe, and society had become "a chain of vassals, in which subjection had its degrees, and mounted from man to man up to the king."

The process by which a freeman became the vassal of another was called "commendation." Kneeling before the seigneur, or lord, the prospective vassal placed his hands in the hands of the other, and "commended himself" to him, promising to serve him honorably in such ways as a freeman should, so long as he should live. There were three purposes especially for which men went into vassalage: to escape the exactions of unrighteous lords; to avoid the military and judicial services due the government; and to secure protection against invading Saracens, Northmen, and Hungarians. The tie established by commendation was at first purely personal, without reference to landholding, and was not hereditary; but in course of time vassalage united with, and became subordinate to, the second or landed element of feudalism.

33. The benefice, or fief

(2) The benefice, or fief, was an estate in land or other property, the use of which was granted in return for stipulated payments or services. Such "usufructuary" tenures were known under the later Roman Empire, and after the Germanic conquest they were greatly multiplied. The church especially was instrumental in establishing them. Through gifts of pious individuals the clergy had come into possession of vast estates, the surplus produce of which could

not be sold because of the almost total lack of roads and markets; it was an economic advantage, therefore, to grant away portions of this land in return for rents and services. The example set by the clergy was followed by great lay proprietors. Often, too, small "allodial" landowners (as those were called who owned their land in full proprietorship) surrendered their lands to the church, or to some powerful layman, and received them back again as a benefice. Thus the number of allodial estates constantly decreased, whereas that of benefices increased.

The use made of the benefice by the government converted it from a mere economic device into a political one; this change began in the time of Charles Martel, and was connected with a reorganization of the Frankish army. To meet the attacks of the Saracens a cavalry force was necessary, and the rule that each freeman should supply himself with weapons and serve at his own expense could no longer be applied, for the cost of providing a horse and heavy arms was too great. Charles Martel, therefore, granted land to his chief military followers on condition that they equip and maintain bands of cavalry for his service; and since the lands in his control were not sufficient, lands of the church were appropriated and used for this purpose. In these grants the personal and landed elements of feudalism were always united; for the lands granted by Martel and his successors were given only to those who already were, or were willing to become, the vassals of the grantor. These, in turn, exacted the same condition from those to whom they subgranted portions, and from this time the tendency was to unite vassalage and benefice holding. By the end of the ninth century the union became complete, and the benefice holder normally was a vassal, and the vassal normally was a benefice holder. Benefices thus became "a sort of money with which the kings and the magnates paid for the services of which they had need."

Secretan, Essai sur la Féodalité, 98

At first, benefices were granted for life only; but gradually it became customary, upon the death of a tenant, for the lord to regrant the estate to the tenant's heir. Thus most benefices, in the eighth and ninth centuries, were in practice hereditary; and the custom, without positive enactment, hardened into law. The earlier term "benefice" then gave place to the term "fief," which designates the fully hereditary estate held by a vassal on condition of mounted military service.

(3) Political sovereignty, which formed the third element in feudalism, was not present in all fiefs, but was an integral part of the system. It consisted of the right possessed by the greater lords to do in their territories most of the acts which ordinarily are performed by the state — to hold courts and try causes, to raise money, levy troops, wage war, and even coin money. Different lords possessed these rights in different degrees, but all the greater lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, possessed some of them.

34. Seignorial rights of sovereignty

Such rights were acquired either through a grant of "immunity" by the crown, or through usurpation without royal grant. In the preceding chapter (§ 19) it has been seen that, to check the oppressions of the counts, immunities were granted, particularly to the clergy, exempting the estates of the holders from the visitation and jurisdiction of royal officers. Thenceforth the count would have no control over such lands, and the functions which he formerly discharged there passed to the immunity holder, and were exercised, not as powers delegated by the state, but in his own right and for his own profit. In a similar manner, the counts made their offices and functions hereditary, along with the benefices which they held. Many lords who were neither royal officers nor possessed of grants of immunity exercised similar rights by usurpation. Thus in various ways sovereignty, which should have been possessed entire by the state, was split up into many bits, and each great seigneur seized such portions as he could.

From the union of these three elements (vassalage, fief-holding, and the lord's rights of sovereignty), in the eighth and ninth centuries, the feudal system arose. France was the land of its earliest and most complete development, but in some form it was found in all countries of western Europe. In England after the Norman conquest, and in Palestine and the East at the time of the Crusades, the system was introduced from France, with some important modifications: in England, in the direction of greater power for the crown; in the East, in the way of more complete control by the feudal lords. In Spain, and in the Scandinavian countries, the system was of native growth, but never reached the completeness which it gained in France and Germany. Until the end of the thirteenth century, the system flourished with such vigor that this epoch may be styled preëminently the Feudal Age. In the fourteenth century a transformation set in, lasting to the close of the Middle Ages, by which feudalism ceased to be a political force, and became a mere social and economic survival.

35. Spread of the feudal system

The theory of the feudal system was comparatively simple, but its practice was infinitely complex and confused. The same man often held fiefs from several different lords, of different rank, and had vassals under him on each fief. Thus the count of Champagne in the thirteenth century held fiefs divided into twenty-six districts, each centering in a castle; his lords included the Emperor in Germany, the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the archbishops of Rheims and Sens, the bishops of Autun, Auxerre, and Langres, and the abbot of St Denis, to each of whom he did "homage" and owed "service"; portions of his lands and rights he "subinfeudated," on varying terms, to more than two thousand vassal knights, some of whom were also vassals for other fiefs from his own overlords. Monasteries frequently appear, under feudal conditions, both as lords and as tenants

36. Complications of feudalism

of fiefs; and bishops owed feudal service for the lands annexed to their offices.

The administration of justice usually went with the land; and since there were lordships above lordships, it might happen that in a given place the "high justice," or right to punish the most serious crimes (murder, robbery, arson, etc.) belonged to one lord, the "middle justice" to another, and the "low justice" to a third. The right to exercise jurisdiction was a profitable right, because of the fines and confiscations which it brought; hence the right to administer one or another kind of justice was often made the subject of an express grant. Offices — even those of cook and miller — were granted as fiefs; the right to half the bees found in a certain wood was granted in fief; in the thirteenth century money fiefs, or annual pensions in return for vassal service, became common. Behind all these grants lay a military reason — the desire of the lord to increase the number of his mounted and heavily armed followers serving at their own expense.

37. Lord and vassal

To the end of the Middle Ages there existed some allodial or non-feudal estates, scattered here and there amid feudalized lands; but the maxim, "No land without a lord, no lord without land," expressed the rule. In the fully developed feudal theory, God was the ultimate lord of all land. Family names derived from estates become common from the eleventh century. Military service, and the tenure of land on this condition, became the ground of a new nobility, descending from the king through the various grades of marquis, duke, count, viscount, to the lord of a single knight's fee. Each of these, save the last, had vassals and subvassals below him, created by the process of subinfeudation. Below them all were the peasants, styled "serfs" and "villeins," whose little plots of land were held of their lord on condition of manual services and regular payments, both of which were regarded as "ignoble." Possession of at least a few families

of villeins was almost a necessity to the feudal lord, for it was mainly from their labor that he was fed and clothed, and enabled to equip himself with his steeds and costly armor.

The tie which bound the feudal hierarchy together was one of personal contract, based on the grant and receipt of land, and witnessed by the "homage" done and "fealty" sworn by each vassal to his "suzerain," or lord. By this contract the vassal was pledged to render "service" to his lord; the latter was bound to "protect" his vassal. The service was preëminently military — forty days a year, on horseback, at the vassal's expense, being the customary limit. The vassal had to attend his lord's court when summoned, to aid with counsel and advice; he was obliged also when accused to stand trial by his fellow-vassals in this court. In addition, the lord might require payment of "aids" in money, on certain exceptional occasions: (1) when the lord knighted his eldest son; (2) on the first marriage of his eldest daughter; (3) to ransom his person from captivity; and (4) to aid him in setting forth on a crusade.

Act of Homage.
Seal of the 12th century.

Primogeniture, or the succession of the eldest son, was the rule of feudal inheritance, as opposed to the equal division among all the children recognized by the Roman and Teutonic law. Personal property might be disposed of by will, but feudal land could not; in default of a recognized heir it "escheated" to the lord of the fief. On entering upon his inheritance, the heir of full age paid a "relief" in money (consisting usually of one year's revenue of the fief), did homage and fealty, and was then put in possession of his estate. If he was a minor, the lord often had the custody of

38. Feudal inheritance

his person and of the fief, with the right to take the profits, until the heir became of age. Finally, the vassal could not sell or otherwise alienate his fief without the lord's consent; and over the marriage of the vassal's heir the lord possessed a measure of control.

In case a vassal failed in the discharge of his obligations, he might be convicted of "felony," and his fief confiscated. In case the lord failed to protect, or otherwise wronged his vassal, the latter might appeal to his lord's suzerain. But ordinarily disputes were settled by force; and the clash of

39. Feudal warfare

TOURNAMENT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.
From a 12th century MS.

ill-defined interests, the hatred borne to neighbor and stranger, and the military habits of the time, made private warfare almost the normal condition of the Middle Ages. And since war was the chief occupation of the feudal class, mimic warfare — the "joust" and "tournament" — was their favorite amusement.

Down to the eleventh century, the armor consisted of a leather or cloth tunic covered with metal scales or rings, with an iron cap to protect the head. From the beginning of the twelfth century, the hauberk was usually worn; this was a

coat of link or chain mail, often reaching to the feet, and possessing a hood to protect the neck and back of the head. Plate armor and the visored helmet first appear in the fourteenth century. A shield or buckler of wood and leather, bound with iron and emblazoned with the knight's coat of arms, was carried on the left arm. The weapons were chiefly the lance and the straight sword. The weight of the armor made necessary a strong, heavy horse (the *dextrarius*) to carry the warrior in battle; when on a journey he rode a lighter horse (the "palfrey"), while a squire or valet led the *dextrarius*, laden with his armor. No number of foot soldiers of the ancient sort could stand before warriors mounted and thus equipped, and it is in this military preëminence that we find one of the chief reasons for the long continuance of the feudal power.

40. Restrictions of feudal warfare

From the close of the tenth century the church exerted itself to check the incessant fighting; and two institutions thus arose, called respectively "the Peace" and "the Truce of God." By the Peace, warfare upon the church and the weak — including peasants, merchants, women, and pilgrims — was perpetually forbidden in those districts where the Peace was adopted. By the Truce of God, a cessation of warfare was established for all classes during the period from Wednesday night to Monday morning of each week, and in all holy seasons (Lent, Advent, Whitsuntide, etc.); thus the number of days a year on which warfare could be carried on was greatly restricted. Violation of the Peace, or of the Truce, was punished with excommunication (§ 58): in some districts, sworn associations of the laity and clergy, with special courts, treasuries, and armies, were instituted to punish violations; but even thus the Peace and Truce were but imperfectly observed.

As governments grew stronger, dukes, kings, and emperors exerted themselves to put down the abuse of private warfare. In Normandy, and in England after the Norman conquest, the

crown enforced peace with a strong hand. In France also, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the crown became strong enough to make progress in this direction. In Germany the Emperors early proclaimed the public peace (*Landfrieden*); but "robber barons" continued to exist, "fist-right" prevailed for long periods, and it was only at the very close of the fifteenth century that effectual steps were taken to enforce a permanent peace.

41. General character of feudalism

In considering the feudal system as a whole, the following points should be borne in mind: (1) Practice often conflicted with theory, many vassals, for instance, becoming strong enough to throw off all dependence on their suzerains. (2) Customs varied greatly in different regions and at different times. (3) The hereditary principle gradually grew stronger, so that in many fiefs female inheritance, and the succession of collateral heirs, in default of heirs of the direct line, came to be recognized. (4) The principle of monarchy (which implies "sovereignty" over subjects) was in its nature opposed to feudalism (which gave only "suzerainty" over vassals), and monarchs, wherever strong enough, undermined feudalism both by direct limitations of feudal prerogatives, and by drawing to themselves, or "mediatizing," the vassals of their own tenants. (5) The rise of the cities as political organizations, from the eleventh century to the thirteenth, also weakened feudalism; for their interests were opposed to those of the feudal lords, and they were enabled to combat them by the wealth which they acquired through industry and trade. (6) With all its defects feudalism served a useful purpose: it supplied a possible form of government at a time when complete anarchy was threatened; it kept alive the theory of a king and the state, standing above all feudal magnates, and thus furnished a basis on which subsequent generations could erect centralized and efficient governments.

42. Summary

The century which followed the death of Charlemagne saw the complete decline of the empire he had founded. Feudalism, new barbarian invasions, civil wars, and division of the empire sapped the central authority. After a fleeting reunion of the parts under Charles the Fat (884–887), there came a final separation of the Carolingian lands into a number of different kingdoms. In each of these the tendency was toward further separation and a further diminution of the powers of the crown. Society was in danger of being reduced to anarchy, and how to check this tendency was one of the problems of the immediate future. The gradual rise of the feudal system furnished a rude yet elastic bond, in which personal service, landholding, and political allegiance were intertwined; the result was a new society, ruled by the heavily armed, mounted knight, intrenched in his almost impregnable castle.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Louis the Pious a good man? Was he a good ruler? (2) Compare the later Carolingian kings with the later Merovingians. (3) How did the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants aid the growth of feudalism? (4) What other factors coöperated? (5) Compare the ninth century Northmen with the fifth century Franks. (6) How does a feudal society differ from a modern state as regards taxation, coining money, administration of justice, maintenance of an army, etc.? (7) Why are such institutions as the Peace and Truce of God no longer necessary?

Search topics

(8) Reformatory measures of Louis the Pious. (9) The treaty of Verdun and its significance. (10) Raids of the Northmen in the ninth century. (11) The lord's obligations. (12) The vassal's obligations. (13) Description of a battle in the Middle Ages. (14) Arms and armor of the knight. (15) Jousts and tournaments. (16) The Peace and Truce of God. (17) Forces hostile to feudalism. (18) The advantages and disadvantages of feudalism. (19) Non-European feudalism (Japan).

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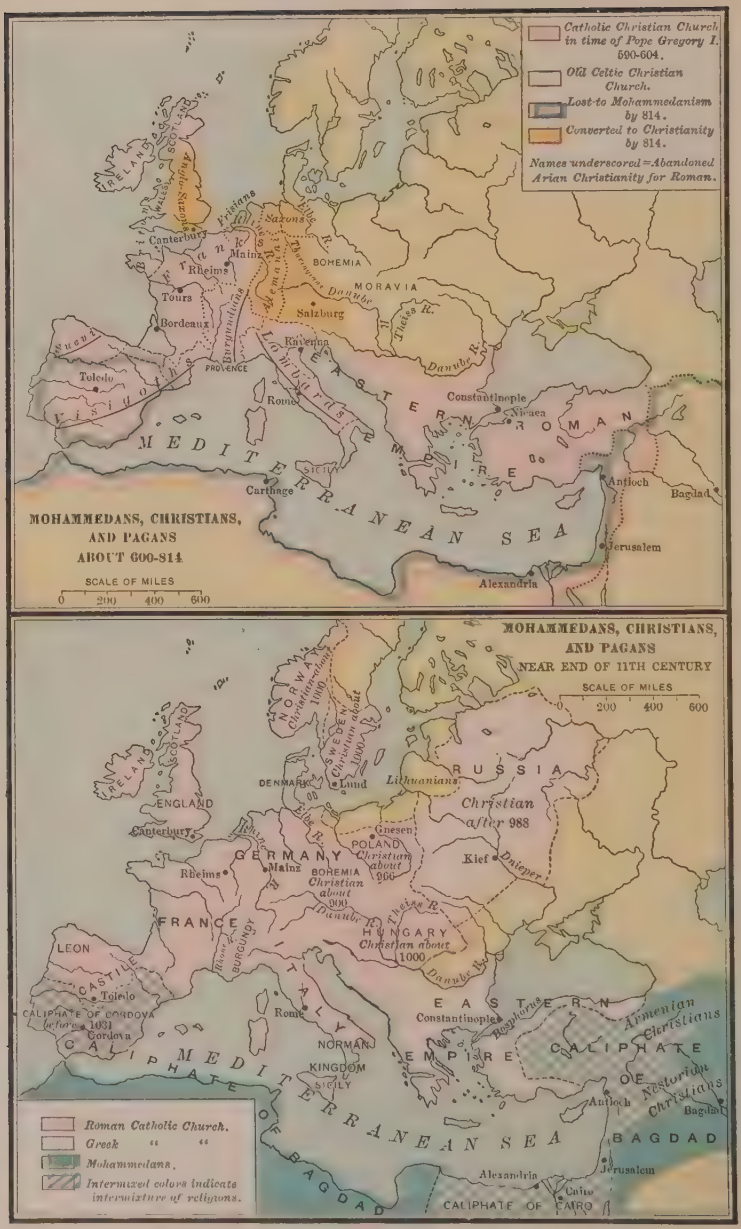
Catholic Christian Church in time of Pope Gregory I. 590-604.
Old Celtic Christian Church.
Lost to Mohammedanism by 814.
Converted to Christianity by 814.
Names underscored=Abandoned Arian Christianity for Roman.
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS ABOUT 600-814
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Nicaea
Antioch
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Carthage
Rome
Toledo
Bordeaux
Tours
Canterbury
Rheims
Mainz
Salzburg
Ravenna
PROVENCE
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Danube R.
Thames R.
Rhine R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Tiber R.
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Jordan R.
Nile R.
Saxons
Franks
Frisians
Lombards
Burgundians
Visigoths
Britons
Picts
Scots
Angles
Saxons
MOHAMMEDANS, CHRISTIANS, AND PAGANS NEAR END OF 11TH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
NORWAY Christian about 1000
SWEDEN Christian about 1000
RUSSIA
Lithuanians
Christian after 988
DENMARK
Lund
ENGLAND
Canterbury
GERMANY
Mainz
Rheims
POLAND Christian about 966
Gnesen
Kief
Dniester
BOHEMIA Christian about 900
HUNGARY Christian about 1000
FRANCE
LEON
CASTILE
BURGUNDY
ITALY
Rome
Toledo
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA before 1031
Cordova
NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
EASTERN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Armenian Christians
CALIPHATE OF Nestorian Christians
Antioch
Bagdad
BAGDAD
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CALIPHATE OF BAGDAD
Roman Catholic Church.
Greek " "
Mohammedans.
Intermixed colors indicate intermixture of religions.

CHAPTER IV.

SUCCESSORS OF THE CAROLINGIANS IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (911–1024)

The dissolution of the Carolingian empire, the rise of feudalism, and new barbarian invasions made the end of the ninth century a time of confusion and disorder. The Viking raids of the Northmen still continued. The Saracens held Sicily securely, again and again fastened themselves upon southern and central Italy, and long held a post on the coast of Provence. The Slavs beyond the lower Elbe, and in Bohemia and Moravia, proved troublesome. From out of far-distant Asia came the Magyars, or Hungarians, another of those terrible swarms which, like the Huns, the Avars, and later the Turks, threatened to destroy civilization; settling in the rich plains of the middle Danube and the Theiss (896), they extended their raids into Italy, Germany, and France. Europe seemed relapsing into barbarism and chaos; disorder, weakness, and ignorance increased; and not until the middle of the tenth century did improvement come.

43. Beginning of the tenth century

The worst part of the Hungarian attack fell upon Germany, where the weakness of the central power after the fall of the Carolingians threw the burden of defense on local counts and dukes. These officers used the opportunity to build up a number of powerful, semi-national duchies. Thenceforth, though nominally a monarchy, the German government took on the character of a confederation, governed by the hereditary princes who ruled the great duchies.

44. Disintegration of Germany

There were four of these German duchies in the tenth and

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude East from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
POMERANIA
POLAND
SAXONY
FRISIA
NORTH MARCH
SAXON OSTMARK
THURINGIA
THURINGIAN MARCH
HESSE
LOWER LORRAINE
UPPER LORRAINE
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
1003-1004 under rule of Poles
MORAVIA
1003-1029 under rule of Poles
BAVARIA
BAVARIAN OSTMARK
(976-955 Hungarian)
SWABIA
HUNGARY
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CARINTHIAN MARCH
ISTRIA
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
LOMBARDY
CROATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Gulf of Genoa
SPOLETO
BENEVENTO
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
CALABRIA
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
Danube R.
Inn R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Tiber R.
Rhone R.
Saone R.
Meuse R.
Moselle R.
Main R.
Weser R.
Ems R.
Aller R.
Saale R.
Elbe R.
Danzig
Hamburg
Bremen
Groningen
Utrecht
Brunswick
Goslar
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Posen
Gnesen
Breslau
Paderborn
Kaiserswerth
Cologne
Fulda
Erfurt
Frankfort
Mainz
Worms
Bamberg
Prague
Olmutz
Treves
Spires
Metz
Chalons
Laon
Cambray
Bouvines
Ghent
Antwerp
Aachen
Bruges
Rheims
Strassburg
Hohenstaufen Castle
Ratisbon (Regensburg)
Wittelsbach
Freising
Passau
Vienna
Ulm
Augsburg
Basel
Constance
Salzburg Pass
Besançon
Troyes
Clairvaux
Cîteaux
Cluny
Lyons
Vienne
Grande Chartreuse
Hapsburg
St. Gall
Zurich
Brixen
Trent
Belluno
Aquileja
Bergamo
Brescia
Milan
Verona
Venice
Turin
Pavia
Tortona
Ferrara
Bologna
Ravenna
Pisa
Florence
Ancona
Perugia
Spoleto
Arezzo
Rome
Benevento
Naples
Salerno
Bari
Brindisi
Messina
Marseilles
Avignon
Genoa
Lucca
Siena
Pisa
Pentapolis
Amalfi
Capua
Gaeta
Sorrento
Terracina
Ostia
Aversa
Otranto
Tarentum
Cumæ
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Calabria
Adriatic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Ligurian Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Sea of Tarentum
Sea of Cumæ
Sea of Gaeta
Sea of Naples
Sea of Salerno
Sea of Sorrento
Sea of Ostia
Sea of Terracina
Sea of Aversa
Sea of Otranto

eleventh centuries, not counting Lotharingia (Lorraine), which was sometimes German and sometimes French. (1) In the valley of the Danube, and its tributary the Inn, lay the duchy of Bavaria, with Ratisbon (Regensburg) as its principal city. (2) To the west, embracing the head waters of the Rhine and Danube and taking in what is now eastern Switzerland, was the duchy of Swabia. (3) North of this, including the middle course of the Rhine, the valley of the Main, and the lower course of the river Neckar, was the duchy of Franconia. (4) North of this again, in the low plains drained by the Ems, the Weser, and the lower Elbe, lay the duchy of Saxony. Thuringia was loosely connected with Saxony, as Friesland was with Lotharingia. Each of the duchies was subdivided into counties; and over the border counties (styled *marks*, or "marches") the counts acquired such large powers that they became practically independent of their dukes. Thus the *Ostmark* (East March) of Bavaria, established as a defense against the Hungarians, developed into *Oesterreich* (Austria); and the North March of Saxony, into Brandenburg, a nucleus of the present kingdom of Prussia.

45. Early Saxon kings of Germany (919–973)

On the death of Louis the Child (§ 30), Conrad I., duke of Franconia, was elected king (911–918). The Saxon duke, however, proved stronger than King Conrad; and on his deathbed Conrad sent the insignia of royalty to Henry, "the Fowler," head of the Saxon house, who was thereupon elected king; and for five successive reigns the crown remained in this family.[1] During a nine-years' truce with the Hungarians Henry I. (919–936) gave a great impulse to town life in Saxony by building numerous fortified places, in which one out of every nine free peasants should dwell, to receive and store up a third of the harvests of the other eight; he also transformed the Saxon infantry into cavalry, and was thus enabled to repulse the next Hungarian attack (933).

[1] See table at foot of p. 98.

The greatest of the Saxon kings was Henry's son, Otto I. (936–973). He ably warred against the Hungarians, and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat (955) on the river Lech, near Augsburg; after this they gradually settled down to agricultural and pastoral life. Under their king, Saint Stephen (979–1038), they were converted to Christianity; and in the year 1000 they were received into the family of European nations by the gift of a royal crown from the Pope. By their settlement in Europe and acceptance of Roman Christianity, the boundary of Western Christendom was shifted far eastward.

Otto's reign saw the beginning of an important German expansion northeastward, at the expense of the Slavs, which won for modern Germany some of its most important territory. The king of the Bohemians was forced to recognize Otto as his overlord, and his people were brought within the circle of German influence. Step by step with the extension of German rule, went the progress of Christianity: an archbishopric was established at Magdeburg (in 967), and a number of bishoprics dependent on it were erected; and from these centers civilization and Christianity slowly radiated among the neighboring Slavs. The duke of the Poles had accepted Christianity in 966, and his successor established a powerful but unstable kingdom.

Ring Seal of Otto I.

46. Italy and the papacy (887–950)

The way, meanwhile, was prepared for the extension of German influence in Italy. Since the downfall of Charles the Fat (887) Italy had suffered many ills. Saracen and Hungarian raids had devastated the land, and whole cities were ruined. Feudalism, which in other countries was a defense to the people, here encountered strong opposition from the artisan and merchant classes; and municipal governments,

centering about the bishops of the towns, came into existence to combat the seigneurs. A series of shadowy kings and emperors arose, seeking to lay the foundations of a national monarchy; but, as a writer of the time said, "The Italians always wish to have two masters, in order to keep the one in check by the other"; thus no ruler won undisputed recognition, and disunited Italy, for nine hundred years, endured the rule of strangers.

Liutprand of Cremona

Why was not the Pope the head and defender of Italy? The reason was that the papacy was suffering from the same anarchy that attacked the empire. Deprived of the protection of a strong imperial power, it became a prey to corrupt and greedy local nobles; and violence, bloodshed, and scandal prevailed through the greater part of the first half of the tenth century.

The disorders in Italy finally forced Otto I. to intervene in 951; and ten years later he led an army a second time into Italy. At Milan he now assumed the iron crown of Lombardy; and at Rome, on February 2, 962, he was crowned Emperor by the Pope. A few days later he confirmed all the grants that had been made to the Popes by Pepin and Charlemagne, and decreed that the papal elections should thereafter be conducted with the fullest liberty.

47. Revival of the Empire by Otto I. (962)

The coronation of Otto revived the imperial title and refounded the empire of Charlemagne, to last (at least in name) for about eight centuries and a half longer. The new empire differed in some important respects from the former one. France no longer made part of it, and imperial interests were confined almost entirely to Germany and Italy. The very title used, that of "the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation," indicates its Teutonic nature. The close connection between Germany and Italy, which the empire brought about, proved hurtful to both: to Italy it brought the ruin of all hopes of nationality and of a native government;

for Germany it meant the sacrifice of the substance of power at home for the shadow of dominion beyond the Alps. To the papacy alone the connection was of immediate value, for the imperial power protected it against the greed and corruption of local nobles.

48. The later Saxon Emperors (973–1002)

It was largely the personal qualities of Otto I. — his energy, courage, and military skill — that made his reign so successful. His son, Otto II. (973–983), struggled with fair success against forces which fear of Otto I. had kept in check; but his death at the early age of twenty-eight left the throne to his three-year-old son, Otto III. (983–1002). In the minority of Otto III., first his mother Theophano (a Byzantine princess), and then his grandmother Adelaide, watched over the empire as regents. Again there were rebellions, and Slav and Danish invasions, and the royal authority declined. In 996 Otto was declared of age, visited Rome with an army, and was crowned Emperor. His character was a strange mixture of religious enthusiasm, exalted imperial dreams, and practical weakness. His closest friend and teacher was a French monk named Gerbert, who had studied in Spain, and whose rare mathematical knowledge made him seem a magician to after ages; in 999 Gerbert became Pope, with the name Sylvester II. — the first French Pope. In pursuit of his imperial dreams, Otto abandoned Germany and made Rome his capital, where he surrounded himself with high-sounding officials and an elaborate ceremonial in imitation of the Byzantine court. Soon the fickle Romans revolted; and hurt at their ingratitude, Otto wandered about Italy, until his death in January of the next year (1002). The German nobles, meanwhile, multiplied their castles and independent jurisdictions, and ruined the land with violence and warfare.

With the death of Otto III. the male line of Otto the Great came to an end, and there was again opportunity for a free

election. The choice fell upon the duke of Bavaria (a great grandson of Henry I.; p. 98), who reigned as Henry II. (1002–1024). Abandoning the romantic dreams of Otto III., he concerned himself with defending and reorganizing Germany; in Italy he seldom appeared. The name Henry "the Saint," given him by mediæval historians, was merited by the conscientiousness with which he performed his religious duties, and the gifts and favors he showered upon the church; but he ruled the clergy, not they him.

From Germany and Italy we must turn to France. There the chief events of the tenth century were (1) the establishment of the Northmen on French soil, and (2) the final overthrow of the Carolingian dynasty.

49. Duchy of Normandy founded (911)

The repulse of the Northmen from Paris, in 886, did not prevent them from settling in increasing numbers in the lands about the lower Seine. In 911 their leader was Rolf (or Rollo), called "the Ganger" or "the Walker," because his gigantic size prevented his finding a horse to carry him. Under his leadership, says an old writer, "the pagans, like wolves of the night, fell upon the sheepfolds of Christ; the churches were burned, women dragged off captive, the people slain." Many times the invaders had been bought off with gifts of money; it was now resolved to follow the example of England and buy them off with a grant of land. At a meeting between the French king and Rolf, in 911, it was agreed that Rolf should have the lands about the lower Seine as the vassal of the king of France, that he should cease his attacks, and that he and his followers should become Christians. The name Normandy (Northmen's land) was soon given this region, and the Northmen ceased to trouble the kingdom.

William of Jumièges

Rolf and the Norman dukes after him were men of ability, and the race itself was of the sturdiest Teutonic stock. With remarkable rapidity the Normans took on their neighbors'

religion, language, and customs. Normandy became a feudal principality, differing from the other fiefs of northern France only in the ability with which it was governed, and the hardy and adventurous character of its inhabitants. "O France," exclaims a historian of the eleventh century, "thou wast bowed down, crushed to earth. . . . Behold, there comes to thee from Denmark a new race. . . . That race shall raise thy name and thy empire, even unto the heavens!" In the Norman conquest of England and of southern Italy (hereafter to be related), in the leading part which the Normans played in the Crusades, and in the hardy character of their seamen to the end of the Middle Ages, evidences of their superior vigor and daring were abundantly given.

Dudo, History of the Normans

The final overthrow of the Carolingian house in France was effected by a member of the family of that Count Odo who won fame in the defense of Paris in 886. The power of this family (called Robertians, after an ancestor, Robert the Strong) rested (1) on the ability of its heads as warriors and statesmen; (2) on the possession of great estates in northern France, more extensive even than those possessed by the Carolingian kings; and (3) on the office of "Duke of the French," which gave the holder the military supremacy in northern France. The hundred years following the siege of Paris was one long contest for the throne between the Carolingians and the Robertians. The successive kings of this period are shown in the table on p. 44. The reign of the Carolingian Charles the Simple (§ 30) was followed by a period of Robertian rule (922–936), and this in turn by the reigns of three Carolingian kings: Louis IV. (936–954), called Louis "D'Outremer" from his residence "beyond the sea" in England at the time of his accession; Lothair (954–986); and Louis V. (986–987), who died of a fall from a horse, leaving no child.

50. Rival dynasties in France (888–987)

These last Carolingians saw their power grow steadily less. The head of the Robertian house at the close of the period

was Hugh Capet, so called from the cape or hood which he wore; of his power it was said by one of his chief supporters, "Lothair is king in name only; Hugh does not bear the title, but he is king in fact." When Lothair's son and successor died without children, the way was clear for Hugh to secure the throne.

51. Capetian dynasty established (987)

For the past hundred years the throne of France had really been elective, the great nobles choosing the king now from one family and now from the other. In the assembly called in 987 to settle the succession, it was possible for the archbishop of Rheims, the leading clergyman of the kingdom, to use this language: "We are not ignorant that Charles of Lorraine [brother of Lothair] has partisans who pretend that the throne belongs to him by right of birth. But if the question is put in that fashion, we will say that the crown is not acquired by hereditary right, and that he alone should be raised to the throne who is distinguished by elevation of character as well as by blood." His arguments won the day, and Hugh was chosen king "of the Gauls, Bretons, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Basques," — that is, king of all France. The mention of these different peoples shows how far they were from being welded as yet into a single nation.

Richer, bk. iv. ch. xi.

The change of dynasty in France is to be looked upon as entirely the result of a combination of persons and circumstances, due to no difference of principles. Yet it was an event of prime importance, for it gave to France a line of rulers (lasting to the end of the eighteenth century) who transformed the elective monarchy into an hereditary one, and built up, on the foundations laid by the Carolingians, the first strong, centralized, modern state.

52. The Normans in southern Italy

The energy and daring which produced the Northmen's settlements in England and France manifested itself in other exploits. Viking bands from the mother lands of the north discovered and settled Iceland (861–875)

and Greenland (983), and even visited "Vinland" or America (about the year 1000). In Russia (about 862) Swedish Vikings established a dynasty which ruled that land for seven hundred years. The Normans, or descendants of the Northmen on French soil, were also to make further conquests: the circumstances which established their duke as king of England are related in another chapter (§ 158); second in importance only to this was their establishment in southern Italy.

NORSE ART.

Carved door from an old church in Iceland; now in Copenhagen Museum. From Du Chaillu's *The Viking Age.*

Since the days of Charlemagne, the East-Roman (Byzantine) or Greek Empire had preserved an uncertain foothold in southern Italy, threatened by the growth of feudal lordships, by the pretensions of German kings, and by Saracen invasions. Sicily since 878 had been almost wholly Saracen, and Sardinia, after 900, was also in Mohammedan

hands. In the first half of the ninth century, Saracens had gained a footing in southern Italy, and though they were temporarily dislodged, no permanent relief could be hoped for while the neighboring lands were theirs. Early in the eleventh century (1017) a new factor entered when a revolted noble enlisted Norman adventurers against the Greek governor. Soon other Normans flocked thither, to take service under different princes and nobles, selling their swords to the highest bidders. Presently they began to establish a power of their own; and in 1071 they took Bari, the last possession of the Greek governors in Italy.

In these conquests five of the twelve sons of a poor Norman noble played principal parts. The eldest, William of the Iron Arm, began the work of expelling both the Greeks from Apulia and the Saracens from Sicily; his brothers assisted and continued the task. The fourth brother, Robert Guiscard (which means "the cunning"), made the greatest name for himself. The daughter of the Greek Emperor describes him as he appeared to his enemies: "His high stature excelled that of the most mighty warriors. His complexion was ruddy, his hair fair, his shoulders broad, his eyes flashed fire. It is said that his voice was like the voice of a whole multitude, and could put to flight an army of sixty thousand men." Like all the Normans, he was a cruel conqueror, and to this day ruined cities bear witness to his ferocity. Before he died (in 1085) all southern Italy acknowledged him as lord, save only the lands about the Bay of Naples, and the papal duchy of Benevento.

The conquests of Roger, the youngest of the family, were equally remarkable. On the invitation of discontented Christians, he landed in Sicily in the year 1060, and after thirty years of untiring warfare he succeeded in conquering the last of that island from its Saracen rulers.

In Italy and Sicily the Norman princes showed the same tolerance for the language, laws, customs, and beliefs of the

conquered, and the same adaptability to new conditions, that they displayed elsewhere. The result was that on the ruins of Greek, Lombard, and Saracen power they erected a strong feudal state which, with some inevitable changes, lasted until the establishment of the present kingdom of Italy in the nineteenth century.

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53. Summary

Reviewing the developments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see that one of the problems presented by the dissolution of the Carolingian empire had been solved; the centrifugal tendency had been brought under control, and political disintegration checked. Feudalism, with its organization of society on the basis of private contract developing into hereditary right, proved a uniting as well as a disintegrating force; it served to bind together, however loosely, the fragments of society until other and stronger ties could operate. Monarchical government proved another political tie. Germany under the Saxon kings seemed nearer to attaining national monarchical union than any other Carolingian land; but this result the tendencies of the next three centuries were to defeat. In France and England the foundations of strong monarchies were laid, in the one by the accession of Hugh Capet, in the other by the Norman Conquest. These countries, therefore, earlier than any others in the West, were to attain unity and strength. The revival of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto the Great (962) gave a fictitious unity to Western Christendom by its claims to theoretical subordination of all kingdoms to itself; but the imperial supremacy was seldom recognized in fact, and the persistence of the Empire was more important for its bearing on men's aspirations and ideals than for its influence on practical policies.

With the checking of political disintegration went on a widening of the area of Western civilization. Hungarians, Bohemians, and Poles were formed into Christian kingdoms,

while other Slavonic tribes were absorbed into Germany. The Christian kingdoms of Scandinavia — Norway, Denmark, and Sweden — arose, and offshoots of the Northmen's race established themselves in France, Italy, and England. In Spain, Christian principalities slowly gained ground at the expense of the Mohammedans; in Russia, civilization and Christianity made their way from Constantinople among the native Slavs and their Swedish rulers. The Eastern Empire held its own against the Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Servians (a Slavonic people) who beset it on the north, and against the Mohammedans who attacked it from the east. Christianity and civilization, in short, maintained themselves, and slowly spread from the Mediterranean countries towards the farthest confines of Europe.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Compare the weakness of the Carolingian empire in the ninth and tenth centuries with that of Rome in the fourth and fifth. (2) Was the decline due primarily to the increase of dangers from without or to decay within? (3) Why did Germany suffer most from the Hungarians? (4) Why were the Northmen the chief enemies of France? (5) Why should the border counts gain larger powers than the counts in other regions? (6) How long had the Saxons been Christians when their duke became king? (7) With what movements in our own history may the German expansion eastward be compared? (8) Compare the empire of Otto I. with that of Charlemagne. (9) Show on an outline map the extent of the empire under the Saxon emperors, marking the German duchies. (10) Was the grant of Normandy to Rolf a wise or an unwise step on the part of the French king? (11) Did it benefit or injure France? (12) How does the Norman conquest of southern Italy differ from the Northmen's settlement in France?

Search topics

(13) The coming of the Hungarians. (14) Henry I.'s fortresses and army reorganization. (15) Victory over the Huns on the Lech. (16) Character of Otto I. (17) His first expedition to Italy and marriage to Adelaide. (18) Gerbert as scholar and teacher. (19) Decline of the Carolingians in France. (20) Hugh Capet. (21) The Northmen in Russia. (22) The discovery and settlement of Iceland. (23) The Normans in Italy. (24) Robert Guiscard.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The unbroken rule of the church over the lives and spirits of mankind, down to the time of the Reformation, is the most striking feature of mediæval history. Through the organized church, the barbarians who had overwhelmed the Roman Empire were brought into the Christian fold; and it afterwards exerted a powerful force among the Western nations toward establishing political unity and promoting uniformity of manners, of usages, of law, and of religion. Despite the ignorance, ambition, and corruption which crept into it, the church persistently held aloft a higher standard of morals than that of the laity, and championed the cause of the poor and oppressed in an age of violence and sensuality. Of its head a Protestant historian says, "The papacy as a whole showed more of enlightenment, moral purpose, and political wisdom than any succession of kings or emperors that mediæval Europe knew."

54. Influence of the church

Walker, Reformation, 5

Very early there arose a legal setting off of the clergy from the laity. To the clergy alone were committed the conduct of worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the government and discipline of the Christian community. As time passed, the distinctions between the two classes became deeper, the one being likened to the soul, the other to the body. Gradually a hierarchy of orders and offices was formed among the clergy. Says the twelfth-century author of a popular text-book: "Seven are the ecclesiastical ranks, to wit: doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes,

55. The clergy as an order

Peter Lombard, Sententiæ

subdeacons, deacons, priests; but all are called 'clerks'" (*i.e.* clergy). The ceremony of "tonsure" marked the entrance of the candidate into minor orders: in the Eastern Church this meant the clipping of the hair over the whole head; in the Roman or Latin Church, the top only was shaved, leaving a narrow strip all around. The clergy wore garments of peculiar cut, to distinguish them from the laity and one order from another. That they might serve God with more singleness of purpose, it was ordered in the West, from the fourth century on, that priests and the higher clergy should be "celibate," that is, should not marry. In the Eastern or Greek Church the practice of celibacy was generally confined to the monks, and even in the Latin Church several centuries passed before it became universal. To secure independence in administering religious rites, the clergy claimed "immunity" from the secular law and the secular courts, so that a clergyman might be tried only before ecclesiastical courts, and by church or "canon" law. This privilege, known as "benefit of clergy," crept sooner or later into the laws of every nation of Europe; and the evils in it were seen when persons who had no intention of becoming priests became clerics, or clerks, merely that they might secure protection in their misdeeds.

THE TONSURE.
From a 14th century MS.

The power of the clergy rested upon the position of the priest as mediator between God and man, and as the authoritative teacher in matters of faith and morals. In the teaching of the church, the "sacraments" were recognized as the ordinary channels of divine grace, and these (with the exception of baptism and matrimony) the clergy only could validly administer. The sacraments were seven in number: (1) In the sacrament of Baptism the child (or adult) was made a member of the Christian community. (2) Confirmation admitted him into full fellowship. (3) The Holy Eucharist (or Lord's Supper), administered in the Mass, was the central feature of mediæval worship, for in this rite the spirit of the participant was strengthened by the reception of the body and blood of the Savior. The term "transubstantiation" was introduced in the thirteenth century to designate precisely that the substance of the bread

56. The sacraments

THREE SACRAMENTS: ORDINATION, MARRIAGE, EXTREME UNCTION.

Part of a triptych painted in the 14th century; Antwerp Museum.

and the substance of the wine were changed *into* the substance of the body and blood of Christ, only the appearances or "accidents" (such as color, taste, etc.) of bread and wine remaining. (4) Penance included confession to the priest at least once a year, the performance of various acts to test the reality of repentance, and absolution by the priest from the guilt of sin. (5) Extreme Unction was the anointing with oil of those about to die; it strengthened the soul for its dark journey and cleansed from the remainder of venial sins. (6) Ordination was the rite whereby one was made a member of the various grades of the clergy. (7) Matrimony was the sacrament by which a Christian man and woman were joined in lawful wedlock.

The theory underlying the whole system was that the sacraments derived their force from the power which Christ gave the Apostles and which they transmitted to their successors. Any priest might administer most sacraments, but only bishops could ordain.

To carry on the work of the church, officers of various ranks were necessary. At the bottom of the structure were the parish Priests. The first Christian churches were naturally in populous cities; but subordinate churches were soon erected, and offshoots arose in country districts. Eventually the whole of Western Christendom was divided into "parishes," each with its parish church and parish priest. The priest was appointed by the bishop, but laymen who gave lands to found the churches usually reserved to themselves and their successors the right of "patronage," that is, of nominating to it some ordained clerk.

57. Ecclesiastical hierarchy; Priests

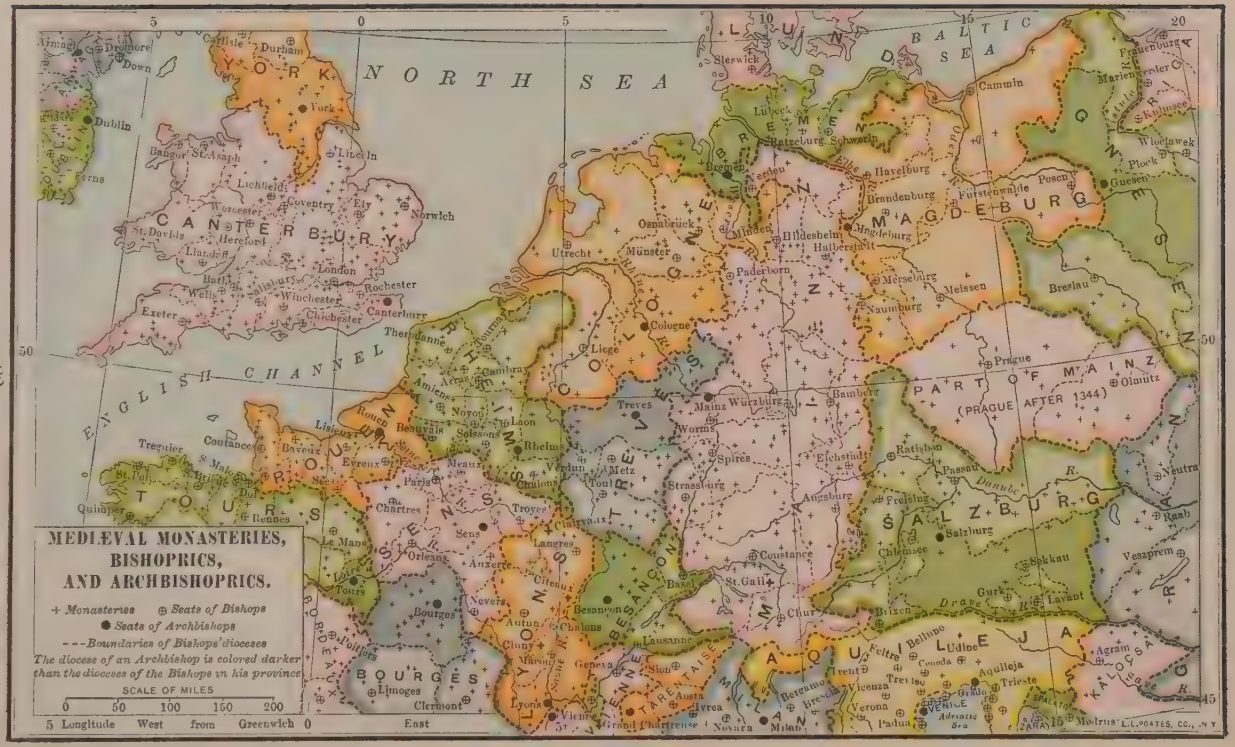
The parishes, in turn, were grouped into "dioceses," each diocese under the Bishop of that "see" (bishopric). The word "bishop" (*episcopus*) means "overseer" and aptly characterized his functions. He watched over the work of the diocese, visiting and disciplining the clergy, consecrating

58. Bishops

churches, and administering the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. The "tithe," or church due of one tenth of all the produce of the soil, was paid to his agents, and by him apportioned among the parishes. He presided in person (or through his "archdeacon") over the ecclesiastical court of the diocese; to this all the clergy, and also laymen in many kinds of cases, were amenable. In his "synods," or diocesan councils, ecclesiastical legislation was passed. He enforced his judgments and decrees by "excommunication," that is, by cutting off the culprit from Christian fellowship: the greater excommunication, or "anathema" (accomplished "by bell, book, and candle"), not only cut off the person from the rites of the church and thus endangered his soul, but also cut him off from his fellows so that none might buy, sell, eat, or transact business with him. The power of the bishops over both the clergy and the laity was very great; certain influences, however, tended to lessen their authority. Among these were conflicts with the "chapter" of the "cathedral" (as the clergy were called who had charge of the worship in the bishop's church); for the fact that the members of the chapter (called "canons") came to enjoy the right — at least in theory — of electing the bishop, greatly strengthened their position. The "archdeacon" also sought to make his authority independent of the bishop.

59. Archbishops

The dioceses were grouped together into "provinces," over each of which was an Archbishop. In addition to his powers and duties as bishop of one of the dioceses, the archbishop supervised the work of the church throughout his province. His special mark of distinction was the "pallium," a narrow band of white wool worn loosely around the neck; this could be conferred only by the Pope. The archbishop's cathedral was usually in the most important city of the province, so he was spoken of as the "metropolitan." In each country there was a tendency for some one archbishop


MEDIÆVAL MONASTERIES, BISHOPRICS, AND ARCHBISHOPRICS.
+ Monasteries ⊕ Seats of Bishops
● Seats of Archbishops
---Boundaries of Bishops' dioceses
The diocese of an Archbishop is colored darker than the dioceses of the Bishops in his province.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
5 Longitude West from Greenwich 0 East
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
YORK
CANTERBURY
TOURS
BOURGES
LYONS
MAGDEBURG
PART OF MAINZ (PRAGUE AFTER 1344)
SALZBURG
AQUILEJA
GRADO
VENICE
MILAN
Adriatic Sea
Dublin
Cologne
Mainz
Prague
Paris
Rome
Vienna
Lyons
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Salzburg
Magdeburg
Breslau
Olmütz
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Strassburg
Constance
Basel
Lausanne
Geneva
Besançon
Metz
Verdun
Rheims
Cambrai
Liege
Utrecht
Münster
Osnabrück
Paderborn
Bremen
Lübeck
Hamburg
Berlin
Posen
Gnesen
Cammin
Stettin
Riga
Reval
Pernau
Arensburg
Libau
Memel
Königsberg
Danzig
Thorn
Plock
Wloclawek
Frauenburg
Marienwerder
Culm
Kulmsee
Graudenz
Neisse
Olmütz
Brünn
Vienna
Raab
Veszprem
Agram
Spalato
Zara
Ragusa
Cattaro
Scutari
Durazzo
Corfu
Otranto
Brindisi
Naples
Gaeta
Capua
Benevento
Salerno
Amalfi
Sorrento
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Syracuse
Trapani
Girgenti
Malta
Tripoli
Tunis
Bona
Algiers
Oran
Tangier
Fez
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Malaga
Valencia
Barcelona
Tarragona
Saragossa
Pamplona
Burgos
Leon
Compostella
Oporto
Lisbon
Coimbra
Evora
Badajoz
Toledo
Madrid
Segovia
Avila
Salamanca
Zamora
Braga
Lugo
Tuy
Orense
Astorga
Palencia
Valladolid
Tudela
Huesca
Lerida
Tortosa
Tarragona
Gerona
Vich
Urgel
Perpignan
Narbonne
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Montpellier
Nismes
Arles
Avignon
Aix
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Ventimiglia
Genoa
Turin
Pavia
Novara
Vercelli
Ivrea
Susa
Aosta
Grand Chartreuse
Vienne
Clermont
Limoges
Poitiers
Angoulême
Bordeaux
Agen
Auch
Tarbes
Bayonne
Dax
Pau
Lescar
Oloron
Aire
Vic
Auch
Agen
Périgueux
Saintes
Angoulême
Poitiers
Limoges
Clermont
Le Puy
Mende
Viviers
Valence
Grenoble
Vienne
Lyons
Autun
Chalons
Cluny
Macon
Besançon
Langres
Troyes
Sens
Auxerre
Nevers
Bourges
Orleans
Chartres
Le Mans
Tours
Angers
Nantes
Rennes
St. Malo
Quimper
Coutances
Bayeux
Lisieux
Evreux
Rouen
Beauvais
Amiens
Arras
Noyon
Soissons
Laon
Meaux
Paris
Chalons
Verdun
Toul
Metz
Treves
Worms
Spires
Mainz
Würzburg
Bamberg
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Passau
Eichstädt
Ingolstadt
Munich
Freising
Chiemsee
Innsbruck
Brixen
Trent
Feltre
Belluno
Udine
Gorz
Gurk
Spikau
Lavant
Drave
Danube
Inn
Salzach
Enns
Traun
Ems
Weser
Elbe
Oder
Havel
Spree
Saale
Main
Neckar
Rhine
Moselle
Meuse
Scheldt
Somme
Seine
Loire
Rhone
Po
Tiber
Arno
Adige
Brenta
Piave
Tagliamento
Isonzo
Save
Drave
Danube
Theiss
Vistula
Niemen
Dwina
Narva
Neva
Ladoga
Onega
Volga
Kama
Don
Dnieper
Bug
Dniester
Pruth
Sereth
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Sea of Azof
Sea of Marmora
Constantinople
Adrianople
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
Smyrna
Ephesus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Candia
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Red Sea
Mecca
Medina
Jerusalem
Damascus
Beirut
Tripoli
Aleppo
Antioch
Tarsus
Iconium
Ancyra
Trebizond
Erzerum
Kars
Tiflis
Baku
Derbent
Astrakhan
Saratov
Kazan
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
Tver
Novgorod
Pskov
Revel
Riga
Mitau
Wilna
Grodno
Brest
Pinsk
Kiev
Kamenetz
Lemberg
Przemysl
Cracow
Sandomir
Lublin
Warsaw
Plock
Thorn
Posen
Gnesen
Breslau
Glogau
Frankfort
Brandenburg
Havelberg
Ratzeburg
Schwerin
Lübeck
Bremen
Verden
Minden
Hildesheim
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Merseburg
Naumburg
Meissen
Dresden
Leipsic
Wittenberg
Halle
Erfurt
Eisenach
Fulda
Hersfeld
Paderborn
Münster
Osnabrück
Utrecht
Cologne
Liege
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cambrai
Arras
Amiens
Noyon
Soissons
Laon
Rheims

to gain preëminence over the others, and be recognized as "primate"; thus the Archbishop of Canterbury was primate of all England, while the Archbishops of Rheims and Mainz claimed preëminence respectively in France and Germany. A few archbishops (especially those of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Rome) were styled "patriarchs," and held positions of exceptional power and dignity.

Great estates — usually the gift of pious individuals or of repentant sinners — came to be attached to the episcopal and archiepiscopal "sees." Such estates were often held by feudal tenure; and thus the clergy tended to become feudalized equally with the laity, and the spiritually minded were scandalized by seeing bishops, clad in coats of mail, lead their vassals to battle. High political offices (especially in Germany and England) were conferred upon the clergy; and this fact further complicated the relations of church and state. On the one side the higher clergy found their independence threatened by the temporal powers; on the other their influence was subordinated to that of Rome.

60. Pope and cardinals

At the head of the whole system stood the Papacy. Many causes contributed to make the Bishop of Rome the "universal overseer," or head of the whole Western Church. The political importance of Rome, the wealth of the church there, the singular ability and moderation which its bishops showed in doctrinal disputes, the martyrdom and burial at Rome of Saint Peter and Saint Paul — all were factors in the Roman headship. Most important of all, that headship rested upon the belief that Peter had been made by Christ the chief of the Apostles and given "the power of the keys," *i.e.* the power to bind and to loose (Matthew, xvi. 18–19). Peter was regarded as the founder of the bishopric of Rome, and the power given him by Christ he was held to have transmitted to his successors.

To assist the Pope in his work, a clerical council was grad-

ually formed, called the College of Cardinals. This was at first composed of the higher clergy of Rome; later other Italians, and gradually some foreign clergymen, were admitted. The importance of the cardinals as an organized body dates from 1059, when the chief part in papal elections was confided to them.

Besides provincial and diocesan synods,

61. General councils

General or "Ecumenical" Councils of the whole church were called from time to time. The first general council was that held at Nicæa in the year 325 to condemn the Arian heresy. The first eight councils were recognized by the Greek and Latin churches alike; but beginning with the ninth, in 1123, they were really concerned only with the affairs of those who recognized the supremacy of the See of Rome. The council held at the Lateran Church in Rome in 1215 is reckoned the twelfth, and was one of the most imposing assemblages of the true Middle Ages: 412 bishops and 71 archbishops were present, with more than 2000 clerics in all. In the fifteenth century, troubles in the church revived the use of councils; it then became a burning question whether the Pope was above such assemblies, or they above the papacy; that is, whether the Pope, or the council of higher clergy representing the church as a whole, finally revealed the will of God.

ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By the eleventh century the papacy presented three distinct aspects, for the Pope was (1) the bishop in charge of the diocese comprising Rome; (2) the head of the whole Latin Church; and (3) a temporal prince ruling "the States of the Church" in Italy. The formation of his temporal power took place chiefly after the downfall, in the eighth century, of the Byzantine and Lombard rule in central Italy, and was based in part upon grants of secular rulers (§§ 14, 16).

62. Threefold power of the papacy

To understand this subject, we must here touch briefly on the relations of the papal power to the empire, which were a subject of perpetual controversy in the Middle Ages. In the time of Charlemagne, as in the time of Constantine the Great and his successors, the head of the state acted also, in a sense, as head of the church. From the time of Louis the Pious this relation was gradually reversed: the imperial authorization was no longer awaited for papal elections, as was earlier the case; on the other hand, the right of the Pope to confer the imperial crown steadily gained recognition. Louis the Pious, not satisfied with coronation by his father, received recoronation at the hands of the Pope, and permitted his son Lothair to be crowned in the same way. Gradually the custom of coronation by the Pope hardened into a right, and Popes claimed to confer or withhold the imperial crown at pleasure.

In the eighth and ninth centuries appeared the forged Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. The former represents Constantine the Great as "cleansed from all the squalor of leprosy" by the prayers of Pope Sylvester I.; in gratitude therefor, on the fourth day after his baptism, he is said to have resolved to forsake the ancient city for a new capital on the Bosphorus, and to have conferred upon the Pope "the city of Rome, and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the Western regions." The False Decretals were a collection,

63. Donation of Constantine and False Decretals

Henderson, Documents, 322–328

claimed to have been found in Spain, of thitherto unknown letters and decrees of early Popes and councils, from the time of Saint Peter to the close of the fourth century; these showed the Popes acting from the first as supreme rulers in the church, judging causes in the last resort and issuing instructions to the clergy of all grades.

The general tendency of the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals was: (1) to elevate the spiritual power, especially the papacy, above the secular; (2) to make the papacy the supreme authority in the church; and (3) to supply an additional basis for the Pope's temporal rule. Both Donation and Decretals are now recognized, by Catholics and Protestants alike, to have been forgeries of the clumsiest sort; but the ignorance and lack of critical inquiry of the Middle Ages caused them to be accepted without question for six hundred years. Protestants and Catholics differ as to the part which these forged documents played in the development of the papal power; but a Catholic historian admits that "the compilers of the Decretals, by stating as facts what were only the opinions or the tendencies of the age, by giving as ancient and authentic documents such as were supposititious and modern, and by putting forward as established rights and legal precedents claims entirely destitute of such warrant, did, in matter of fact, hasten the development and insure the triumph of the very ideas and principles they advocate."

Alzog, Church History, II. 274

Parish priests, bishops, archbishops, and Pope usually belonged to the "secular" clergy, that is, clergy who lived in the "world" (*seculum*); there was also an enormous body of so-called "regulars" who might, under proper circumstances, fill any of these offices. The "regular" clergy were those who lived under a "rule" (*regula*), such as those of the different monastic orders. In the West the rule of Saint Benedict (died 543) was the most important monastic ordi-

64. Benedictine monks

nance. It breathed an essentially mild and practical spirit, as opposed to the wild extravagances of Eastern zealots, like Simeon Stylites, who dwelt for thirty years on the narrow top of a lofty column. Benedict's rule enjoined upon the brethren the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience to their abbot, or head. They were to labor with their hands, especially at agriculture; were to join in public worship once during the night (about two o'clock), and at seven stated "hours" during the day; and were encouraged to copy and read books. They ate together in a "refectory," at which time one of their number was appointed to read aloud; and they slept together in a common dormitory. Each monastery was a settlement complete in itself, surrounded by a wall; and the monks were not allowed to wander forth at will. New monasteries were often located on waste ground, in swamps, and in dense forests; and by reclaiming such lands and teaching better methods of agriculture the monks rendered a great service to society. Schools also were maintained in connection with the monasteries.

BENEDICTINE MONK.
From a 13th century MS.

MONASTERY OF ST. GALL.
From a plan made in 1596.

The house of St. Gall in Switzerland is a type of the great monasteries of the Middle Ages. In the tenth century its estates amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand "plowlands"; and a populous community dwelt about its walls, made up of the laborers, shepherds, and workmen of various trades employed by the monastery, together with the serfs settled on the monastery estates, who were bound to work three days a week for the monastery. The convent itself numbered more than five hundred monks.

The Benedictine monasteries were entirely independent of one another. Theoretically, the bishop had the right of visitation and correction over the monasteries in his diocese; but frequently the monks secured papal grants of "immunity" which freed them from episcopal control. The monasteries often became very wealthy through gifts of lands and goods. Then luxury and corruption crept in, and great nobles sought to secure control of monastic estates, often by the appointment of "lay" abbots who drew the monastery revenues without taking monastic vows. Such periods of decay were followed by times of revival, and these in turn by new decline — and so on to the end of the Middle Ages.

65. Monastic reform: order of Cluny (910-)

The monastery of Cluny, in eastern France (founded 910), was the center of the reform movement in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the reformed monasteries, unlike the Benedictine, were brought into permanent dependence on the abbot of the head monastery, their "priors" being appointed by him. The name "congregation" was given to such a union of monasteries under a single head; and the congregation of Cluny grew until in the twelfth century it numbered more than two thousand monasteries. The strict self-denial of these monks, the splendor of the worship in their churches, their zeal for learning and education, and a succession of distinguished abbots, account for the great spread, throughout Europe, of the Cluniac movement.

Other monastic orders, zealous for reform, arose in the eleventh century. The Carthusians, founded (in 1084) at Grande Chartreuse in the kingdom of Burgundy, introduced something of hermit life into the monastery, each monk being provided with a separate cell in which he lived a life of meditation, study, and silence. The Cistercian order was founded at Cîteaux, in eastern France (in 1098); its rule rejected all luxury and splendor, even in the appointments for worship, and required of its members a rigidly simple life, with an abundance of agricultural labor, in which sheep raising had the predominant part. Its most famous member was Saint Bernard (1091–1153), abbot of Clairvaux; and within a hundred years after his death the order numbered eight hundred houses, scattered all over Europe. In the thirteenth century arose orders of a new sort, the mendicant or begging "friars," of which the chief were the Franciscans and the Dominicans (see § 181). It was not until the sixteenth century that the Jesuits arose.

66. Other monastic orders (1084–)

These various orders were distinguished by differences in the color and cut of their garments, as well as in their mode of life; thus the Benedictines and Cluniacs wore black gowns, the Cistercians and Carthusians white.

In addition to the organizations for men there were also many for women. The "nunneries," or houses of these organizations, were numerous, widespread, and crowded; they offered a safe refuge to defenseless women in an age of violence; and nuns who possessed talent, high birth, or sanctity might rise as abbesses to positions of honor and influence.

With the growth of the church in riches, external influence, and power, came increasing splendor of buildings and ceremonial. The East developed its type of church architecture, called the Byzantine, in which the round or polygonal form of building of Roman days was enlarged and enriched with side galleries, alcoves, and porches; its most

67. Church buildings

famous example is the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople — now a Mohammedan mosque (p. 261; see another on p. 39). In the West, the Roman municipal basilica — an oblong building with the interior divided longitudinally by parallel rows of pillars into two "aisles" and a central "nave" — was at first taken as the model. This developed into the Romanesque type of architecture, characterized by the round arch and a general massiveness of effect. Stone superseded brick as the building material, and, to decrease the danger of fire, stone vaulting replaced the timbered roof. The best examples of this type were produced in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in France.

Amiens Cathedral.
Built in 13th century; one of the greatest examples of Gothic architecture.

68. Gothic architecture (1150–) The final form assumed by mediæval architecture was the so-called Gothic or pointed style, which originated in northern France about the middle of the twelfth century. In this the walls are less massive, the windows large and numerous, and the vaulted roof raised to prodigious heights on slender, clustered columns. The secret of this construction consists in the strong external columns and arched or "flying" buttresses which take the concentrated

lateral thrusts of the vast pointed arches and relieve the interior columns of all stress except the vertical pressure from the roof. The ground plan of the Gothic cathedral was the Latin cross; the two arms constituted the "transepts," the "choir" corresponded to the short upright, and the "nave" and "aisles" to the lower main part of the cross.

The window openings were filled with pictures in stained glass, whose rich and varied colors added indescribably to the splendor of the interior. Everywhere, within and without, the sculptor's art scattered figures of men, animals, and plants — all emblematical of the aspirations, the hopes, and the fears of mediæval religion. Artists and sculptors vied with one another in representing the history of humanity and of Christianity; along with scenes from the Bible, figures of the saints, and allegorical representations of the virtues and vices, were seen fantastic grinning beasts and demons, the retinue of the devil. Taken as a whole, such scenes "made up a kind of layman's Bible that appealed to the eye and was understood by all."

69. Church services and worship

With the growth of ecclesiastical organization, the worship of the church assumed definite form. Latin was the language of the West at the time that Christianity was introduced, and it became the language of the Roman Church; but in many regions portions of the service, as well as sermons, were given in the language of the people. The order of service included the reading of selected Scripture lessons, the singing of Latin hymns, and the repetition of the creed. Music was improved by the introduction of harmony, and by a system of notation from which grew our modern musical notes and staffs; but church singing was by the choir only. The chief place in the service was given to the celebration of the mass, or Lord's Supper; this was viewed as a perpetual sacrifice of Christ, the benefits of which were available not only for those on earth, but for departed souls undergoing purifica-

tion for sins in Purgatory. From the honors shown to martyrs arose the veneration of the saints, especially of the Virgin Mary, whose intercession was asked both for the living and for the dead. Bones of martyrs, pieces of the cross on which Christ was crucified, and similar relics were cherished and venerated, and made to work miracles of healing. Christmas, Easter, and a host of other church festivals were celebrated with processions and a pomp and splendor of ceremonial which appealed powerfully to the imagination. Rude dramatizations of the Incarnation and Redemption were presented; from these, and from "miracle plays" and "moralities" the modern drama was developed. Preaching played a less prominent part in mediæval religion than it does to-day, though from time to time great preachers arose — like Pope Urban II., Bernard of Clairvaux, and others — to preach a Crusade or a moral reformation. The parish priests, because of the great cost of hand-written books and the lack of schools, were usually poorly educated, and refrained from preaching.

70. Rise of universities (1200–)

To educate the clergy there was need of better organized instruction, and to supply this need universities arose. At Salerno, in Italy, there was early a school devoted to the study of medicine; at Bologna arose famous teachers of civil and canon law; at Paris were schools famed for the teaching of philosophy and theology; at other points also, about cathedrals and monasteries, schools were in existence. The thirteenth century saw a growth in definiteness of organization in church, in state, and in city communities; and, touched by the same movement, these early schools were transformed into the universities of the Middle Ages, under papal or royal charter. Abelard (1079–1142), one of the most famous scholars of the early Middle Ages, shed a luster over the schools of Paris by his intellectual acuteness, rhetorical skill, and romantic history, which even his condemnation for heresy did not dim; and the preëminence of the University

CHIEF UNIVERSITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

of Paris lasted unimpaired to the end of the Middle Ages. Instruction everywhere was by lectures, owing to the scarcity of books. The course of study included the *Trivium* (Latin grammar, rhetoric, and logic), and the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), after which came the higher studies of theology, law, philosophy, and medicine.

The students were a disorderly, turbulent class, many of them mere boys of ten or twelve years, who lodged where they could, lived largely on alms, and being "clerks" were punishable only by their university. Latin was the universal language of learning; this made it easy to wander from country to country and to study in different universities. The student songs, in rhymed Latin, frequently breathed a most unclerical spirit.

After the days of Abelard, learning was brought entirely

into the service of the church, and "scholastic philosophy" prevailed. This may be defined as an attempt to extract knowledge from consciousness, by formal reasoning, instead of by investigation, observation, and experiment. The great authority in philosophy was Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), whose works were known, not in the original Greek, but in Latin translations of imperfect Arabic versions obtained from Spain. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was the greatest of the mediæval schoolmen, and his application of the Aristotelian logic to the problems of theology profoundly influenced all later teaching. In the mediæval universities men were trained for the service of the church, and their minds were sharpened to a hair-splitting keenness on theological subjects;[1] but the physical and historical sciences were little advanced.

71. Need of reform in the secular clergy

The reform movement which spread from Cluny as a center did not stop with the purification of the monasteries; it extended as well to the secular clergy, whose condition in the tenth and eleventh centuries was deplorable. The three great evils complained of were simony, lay investiture, and clerical marriage. (1) Simony was the purchase in any way of ecclesiastical office, the word being derived from Simon Magus, who sought to buy the gift of the Holy Ghost (see Acts, viii. 17–19). (2) Closely connected with this evil was the right exercised by Emperors and princes of "investing" newly elected bishops with the ring and staff, which were the symbols of their office, and requiring from them homage and fealty for the lands which they held. Accompanying the control thus secured were encroachments upon the freedom of

[1] The following questions were debated with great logical subtlety: "Whether an angel can be in more than one place at one and the same time; whether more angels than one can be in one and the same place at the same time; whether angels have local motion; and whether, if they have, they pass through intermediate space." (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, I., quest. 52, 53.) For examples of scholastic method, see University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, vol. III., No. 6.

election, so that the higher clergy almost everywhere became the appointees of the temporal power. Says a Catholic writer, in speaking of this period: "Kings could dispose, absolutely and without control, of all ecclesiastical dignities. . . . All was venal, from the episcopate, and sometimes even the papacy, down to the smallest rural benefice." (3) The whole clergy, with the exception only of the monks and of some bishops and priests who were quoted as marvels, openly and freely entered into the marriage relation. To free the church from these evils, and reinvigorate it, became the special mission of the Cluniac order.

Montalembert, Monks of the West, II. 309

While decentralizing forces prevailed in the state, the church grew steadily in unity and in strength. The papal headship was advanced as the imperial power declined. Recurrent waves of monastic reform resulted in the formation of new orders of monks, and these produced new efforts to revive and spiritualize the church. Education began to spread among the clergy, though confined within the narrow limits of scholasticism, and famous universities arose. Gothic architecture was developed, and impressive church services were devised.

72. Summary

The chief problem of the church was how to secure the clergy from local and monarchical oppression. Before the eleventh century, men's minds were too much engrossed with the practical problems presented by the invasions of the Northmen and Hungarians, and the decay of civil government, to permit of much speculation on the relations of the spiritual and temporal powers. The church also had too much need of the strong arm of temporal rulers (such as Otto I.) to rescue and protect it from danger, to permit it to quarrel with its champions. By the eleventh century these dangers were past, and men's minds began to turn to questions of principles and theory. It was inevitable that the two great powers, the temporal and the spiritual, should come into conflict in their representatives, the

Empire and the Papacy. It is this conflict which constitutes the chief feature of the history of the next two centuries.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why were there just seven clerical ranks, seven sacraments, etc.? (2) Would the Pope have acquired temporal power if Rome had continued to be the residence of an Emperor? (3) Was monasticism a good or a bad thing for religion? For society? For the state? Give your reasons. (4) Why are there not so many monks to-day as there were in the Middle Ages? (5) Why does the church play a less prominent part in modern life than it did in mediæval times?

Search topics

(6) Contributions of Pope Leo I. (440–461) to the growth of the papacy. (7) Contributions of Gregory I. (590–604). (8) Contributions of Nicholas I. (858–867). (9) Life of Saint Benedict. (10) The Benedictine rule. (11) The monastery of Cluny. (12) Monastic orders for women. (13) Romanesque architecture. (14) Gothic art. (15) Music in the Middle Ages. (16) The origin of the drama. (17) Church festivals and pageants. (18) Parish priests of the Middle Ages. (19) Church councils to the close of 1215. (20) Rise of the universities. (21) The university of Paris. (22) Abelard. (23) Student life in the Middle Ages.

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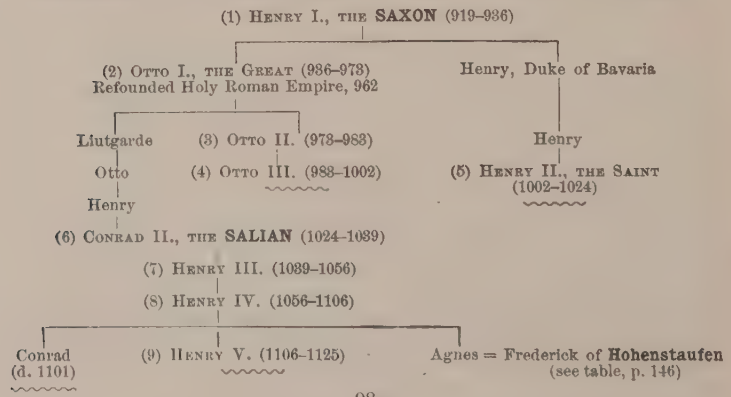
CHAPTER VI.

THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS, HILDEBRAND, AND THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT (1024–1125)

To rescue the church from the evil condition into which it had fallen, something more was needed than the zeal of Cluny; namely, the support of temporal and ecclesiastical rulers. A beginning was made in this direction under the Saxon Emperors, when Otto I., Otto II., and Otto III. protected the papacy against local Roman factions. Under Henry II. the Cluniac monks secured a hold on Germany, and the first energetic action against the married clergy was taken by a Pope in the synod of Pavia (1022). It remained, however, for the Franconian or Salian Emperors,[1] who succeeded the Saxons in 1024, to witness the triumph of the principles of celibacy and no simony, and to see the storm clouds raised by the outcry against lay investiture gather about their own heads.

73. Reform under the Saxon Emperors

[1] THE SAXON AND FRANCONIAN (OR SALIAN) KINGS OF GERMANY



Under Conrad II. (1024–1039), the first of the Franconian or Salian house, little progress was made with church reform, but a basis was laid for a closer connection with Cluny by the incorporation into the empire (in 1032) of the kingdom of Burgundy, where the reform movement was strong.

74. Conrad II. and Henry III. (1024–1056)

Under Conrad's son, Henry III. (1039–1056), the mediæval empire reached its highest point, and the work of reform was zealously taken up. When he first interfered in Roman affairs, in 1046, he found three rivals claiming to be Pope, and each in possession of a portion of the city. At a synod called near Rome, all three claimants were deposed for simony; and a German bishop of unblemished life and piety was chosen — the first of a series of German Popes. Of those who had filled the papal chair in the three preceding centuries, only four had not been born in Rome or the papal states; with these German Popes the papacy took on a more international character. The Popes now led in attacking clerical marriage and simony. Leo IX. (1048–1054) was the most vigorous of the series, traveling about from country to country, holding synods in Italy, Germany, and France — everywhere condemning the married and simoniacal clergy.

SEAL OF HENRY III.
"Heinricus Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperator Augustus."

The greatest service which Leo rendered the reform movement was by bringing the monk Hildebrand to Rome as the adviser and chief officer of the papacy. Of lowly German origin, but born in Tuscany, Hildebrand received his education and training in a Roman monastery of which his uncle was abbot. Gregory VI., one of the three papal contestants in 1046, made him his chaplain, and after Gregory's fall Hildebrand followed him into Germany. For a time Hilde-

75. Rise of Hildebrand

brand was an inmate of the monastery at Cluny, where he was filled with reformatory zeal; and there Leo IX. found him and took him to Rome.

Until his own election to the papacy in 1073, as Gregory VII., Hildebrand was the real power behind the papal throne, under five different Popes, covering a period of nearly a quarter of a century. Physically he was far from imposing: he was of small stature and ungainly figure, with a feeble voice; but he possessed a mind of restless activity, uncommon penetration, and an inflexible will. The principles upon which Hildebrand wished to guide the papal policy are indicated in a memorandum found among his papers, containing the following propositions: (1) The Roman pontiff (Pope) alone may rightly be called "universal." (2) He only can depose and reinstate bishops. (3) He only can establish new laws for the church, and unite or divide dioceses. (4) No council or synod, without his approval, can be called general. (5) No earthly person may call the Pope to trial or pronounce judgment on him. (6) No one who appeals to the papacy may have sentence passed against him by any other tribunal.

Henderson, Documents, 366–367

HILDEBRAND (GREGORY VII.).
From an old print.

(7) The Roman Church has never erred, and never shall err. (8) The Roman Pontiff has the right to depose Emperors. (9) He may absolve the subjects of unjust princes from their allegiance.

In these propositions the supremacy of the Pope over the church and over temporal princes is the underlying thought, and Hildebrand's whole conduct was but the development and application of these maxims. In carrying out his policy he avoided all appearance of revolution, and gave his acts the air of a return to ancient traditions, the evidence for which was found in the False Decretals. Hefele, a famous Catholic historian, sums up Hildebrand's policy in these words: "Seeing the world sunk in wickedness and threatened with impending ruin, and believing that the Pope alone could save it, Gregory conceived the vast design of forming a universal theocracy, which should embrace every kingdom of Christendom, and of whose policy the Decalogue [Ten Commandments] should be the fundamental principle. Over this commonwealth of nations the Pope was to preside. The spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the sun to the moon, imparting light and strength, without, however, destroying it or depriving princes of their sovereignty."

Alzog, Church History, II. 489

While Henry III. lived, Hildebrand did not dare shake off the Emperor's control; but when Henry died, he left an infant of six years, Henry IV. (1056–1106), to rule under the regency of his mother. "The princes," says a chronicler, "chafed at being governed by a woman or a child; they demanded their ancient freedom; then they disputed among themselves the chief place; at last they plotted the deposition of their lord and king." With little now to fear from beyond the Alps, Hildebrand set about organizing new safeguards for papal independence. Everywhere he could count upon the reform party as favorable to his plans. The Countess Matilda of Tuscany gave him protection and resources, and finally donated to the papacy her vast estates, stretching almost to the

76. Papacy claims independence (1056–1073)

Gulf of Genoa. New treaties, also, were concluded with the Normans, by which Robert Guiscard, in return for a confirmation of his conquests, became the Pope's vassal, thus beginning a papal suzerainty over southern Italy which was to last for centuries.

TERRITORIES OF THE COUNTESS MATILDA.

Finally, in 1059, the attempt was made to emancipate the papacy from imperial control, by a decree concerning papal elections. In the early church the Pope had been chosen, like any bishop, by "the clergy and people" of his diocese; but under Charlemagne, the three Ottos, and their successors, the Emperor practically appointed to that office. The decree of 1059 changed the papal constitution, in effect, by providing that the real selection should be in the hands of the College of Cardinals — that is, the Pope's own clerical council. Direful penalties were invoked against all who disobeyed the decree, and the text was characteristic of the times. "Eternal anathema and excommunication," it read, "be upon the foolhardy person who takes no account of our decree, and attempts in his presumption to disturb and trouble the Roman Church! May he endure in this life and in the next the wrath of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that of the Apostles Peter and Paul, whose church he presumes to molest! Let his house be desolate, and no one dwell in his tents! Let his children be orphans, and his wife a widow! Let him and his sons be outcasts and beg their bread, driven away from their habitations! May the usurer consume his goods, and the stranger reap the fruit of his labors! May all the world war

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 34

against him and all the elements be hostile, and the merits of all the saints, who sleep in the Lord, confound and inflict visible vengeance in this life upon him!"

77. Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII. (1073–1085)

The time at last came when Hildebrand himself had to don the papal crown. The election was irregular and not according to the decree of 1059. The people, assembled in the church for the funeral services of the late Pope, raised the cry, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop!" One of the cardinals turned to the crowd and recalled how much, since the days of Leo IX., Hildebrand had done for the church and for Rome. On all sides the cry was then raised, "Saint Peter crowns Hildebrand as Pope!" In spite of his resistance, Hildebrand was forthwith arrayed in the scarlet robe, crowned with the papal tiara, and seated in the chair of Saint Peter. As Pope he took the name Gregory VII., in memory of his early patron.

Goslar, Birthplace of Henry IV.
Present condition.

78. Germany under Henry IV. (1056–1106)

The claims of Gregory to treat the temporal power as subordinate to the papacy made a struggle with the empire inevitable. The imperial power, at this time, was far from strong. The minority of Henry IV. was distracted by quarrels for control, in which his mother Agnes and

the archbishops of Bremen and Cologne played the chief parts. Although intelligent and high-spirited, Henry IV. was allowed to grow up with alternations of stern repression and careless indulgence; he thus arrived at manhood without training to rule, with an undisciplined temper, and with a heedlessness of moral restraint which led him into many excesses. Finally his rule was weakened by the disaffection of the Saxons, who had been the chief support of the throne under the Ottos. In 1073 the discontent ripened into revolt; and although Henry, after one humiliating defeat, put down the rebellion, there continued to exist in Germany a disaffected party with which Gregory formed alliance.

79. Investiture conflict begun (1075-1076)

In 1075 Gregory brought the question of investiture into a position of chief importance, declaring investiture by laymen, even by kings and Emperors, to be void, and causing persons giving it to be excommunicated. To a report that Henry was summoned to appear at Rome to justify his actions, the Emperor replied: "Henry, king not by usurpation, but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but false monk. . . . Thou hast attacked me, who am consecrated king and who, according to the tradition of the fathers, can be judged by God alone and can be deposed for no crime save the abandonment of the faith. . . . Condemned by the judgment of our bishops, and by our own, descend! Quit the place which thou hast usurped! Let another take the seat of Saint Peter, who seeks not to cover violence with the cloak of religion, and who teaches the sound doctrine of Saint Peter!" To this Gregory replied in February, 1076, by sentence of excommunication. "Blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles," he wrote, "be thou my witness that the Holy Roman Church called me against my will to govern it! . . . As thy representative I have received from God the power to bind and loose in heaven and upon earth. Full of this conviction, for the honor and defense of

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 42 (condensed)

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 44 (condensed)

thy church, . . . I deny to King Henry, who with unheard-of pride has risen against thy church, the government of Germany and of Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths of fidelity they have taken or may take to him; and I forbid that any person shall serve him as king."

The most powerful of the German princes were already opposed to Henry, and declared that unless the excommunication were removed by a certain day, he should be treated as deposed and a new king elected. His only hope was to break the alliance between the Pope and his enemies at home; and to accomplish this he set off secretly across the Alps, in the dead of winter, accompanied only by his wife, his young son, and one attendant. At Canossa he found the Pope, already on his way to Germany to arrange the government in consultation with the princes. The Pope at first refused to see him, and for three days Henry was obliged to stand as a suppliant — fasting and barefooted — without the castle gates. At last Gregory yielded to the entreaties of the Countess Matilda and admitted him to reconciliation. The excommunica-

80. Pope's triumph at Canossa (1077)

POPE GREGORY VII., HENRY IV., AND COUNTESS MATILDA AT CANOSSA.

From a 12th century MS. in the Vatican Library.

tion was raised, but only on condition that Henry should make his peace with his German subjects before a day fixed by the Pope, and on terms which he should lay down (January, 1077).

The humiliation of the Emperor at Canossa was the most brilliant victory that the papacy ever won over the temporal power; but it was merely an incident in a long struggle. Henry's German enemies were displeased that the Pope had removed the excommunication, and persisted in electing a new king. Civil war followed, and as Henry continued to grant lay investiture, the Pope renewed his excommunication. A strong party now rallied to Henry's support, and he caused an assembly of German and Italian bishops to declare Gregory deposed and set up an anti-pope. In 1081 Henry mastered his German enemies sufficiently to come to Italy with an army. After three years' campaigning all Rome, save the strong fortress of St. Angelo, was in his hands: his anti-pope was enthroned, and Henry himself was crowned with the imperial crown.

81. Renewed conflict over investiture (1077-1081)

The dauntless Gregory meanwhile had sent for aid to the Norman Robert Guiscard. Henry hastily quitted Rome, which was taken and sacked by the Normans; but when these retired, the Pope was forced to accompany them into southern Italy. There in May, 1085, Gregory VII. died; in his last hours he said, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile." He had done much to clear the church of the scandals which clung to it, and he had raised the papal power to a higher pitch than ever before; but he had embroiled the papacy not only with the empire, but with most of the kings of Europe. Had his ideas triumphed, Europe would have been left practically under the sovereignty of the papacy, distant and disassociated from royal families or national feeling — a single monarchical rule supported by all the terrors of religious authority.

82. Death of Gregory VII. (1085) and of Henry IV. (1106)

After two years, a worthy successor to Gregory came to the papal throne, in the person of Urban II., a zealous reformer of French birth. The struggle between papacy and empire continued as fiercely as ever in his pontificate, in spite of the call for the First Crusade which Urban issued in 1095 (see § 93). The Emperor's oldest son, Conrad, was stirred up to rebel against his father; and after Conrad's death another son, Henry, was induced to revolt, and was recognized as king by the Pope. This time the old Emperor's enemies were completely successful: he was imprisoned, was forced to abdicate, escaped, and sought to renew the struggle; but died in August, 1106, in the midst of his efforts.

Henry IV. made many mistakes and committed many faults, but these were in large part the results of his unfortunate training. His cause was not wholly just, but he was fighting against ecclesiastical absolutism and feudal anarchy. The lower classes of the people, particularly the townsmen of the Rhine valley, mourned him, for he was to them a generous and devoted master. Perhaps the hatred which the nobility bore him was due to this fact, for they fought as much for their own interests as for the cause of religion and papal power.

83. Settlement of the investiture question (1106–1122)

The Emperor's undutiful son, Henry V., when once on the throne, proved as stanch an upholder of the imperial claims as his father. The trouble about investiture grew out of the fact that the bishops and archbishops, especially in Germany, were not merely officers of the church, but by virtue of the lands attached to their offices they were great feudal princes as well, exercising high influence in the state. It was just as impossible for the Emperor to give up all means of keeping out undesirable men from those positions, as it was for the Pope to permit him, by "investing" bishops, to give the sanction for their religious functions. There was room for a real compromise, and negotiations at last were begun with that purpose.

At first the Pope (Paschal II.) consented that the great clergy of Germany should surrender their fiefs and political influence, and become merely church officers; but to this the clergy would by no means agree. Finally, in 1122, an agreement was embodied in what is called, from the city where it was concluded, the Concordat of Worms. The Emperor gave up "all investiture by the ring and the staff," and promised that there should be "freedom of election and of consecration"; in return, the Pope (now Calixtus II.) granted that the election of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or of his representative (so that objection might be made to persons unsatisfactory to him); and that the person so elected should receive from the Emperor "the property and the immunities of his office," and duly fulfill the obligations, such as homage, arising therefrom.

In this settlement the papacy gained the abolition of lay investiture, and so secured greater freedom for the church; but some solid advantages remained to the empire, and the compromise was one which Gregory VII. would have been loath to approve. It gave, indeed, only a breathing spell in the struggle between the world-church and the world-state, and new occasions for controversy were not slow to arise; for the two ideas were mutually exclusive. In the world-empire of Charlemagne or Otto I. there was no room for an independent church; in the world-papacy of Hildebrand there was no room for an independent empire or kingdom. The conflict had to continue until one or the other, or both, were destroyed.

The beginning of Hildebrand's influence in the papacy coincides with the ending of the last connection between the churches of the East and of the West. The separation of the Roman Empire, in the fourth century, into an eastern and a western half, paved the way for a similar "schism" in

the church. As the two halves of the empire drifted apart, the churches also drifted away from each other. Latin remained the language of the West, while Greek became the official tongue of the East. In the eighth century broke out a strife about the use of images (the Iconoclastic Controversy), which the Latin Church favored, and the Greek Church, for a time, opposed (§ 13). At the close of the same century, the West formally accepted an addition made — without due authority, it seemed to the East — in the Nicene creed (adopted 325 A.D.) so that it read, "I believe . . . in the Holy Ghost . . . which proceedeth from the Father *and the Son* (*filioque*) . . ." The insertion of the word *filioque* in this passage on the "procession of the Holy Ghost" (as it was called) was one of the hardest things for the West to justify to their Eastern brethren. Other differences concerned the cut of the tonsure and the bread used in celebrating the Eucharist — the East maintaining the use of leavened bread, and the West of unleavened.

84. Final separation of Greek and Latin churches (1054)

Above all, there was the supremacy claimed by the papacy over the whole church, which the East would not admit. In the ninth century, the attempt of Pope Nicholas I. to interfere as of right in the Eastern Church and settle a dispute over the office of Patriarch of Constantinople, brought the two churches into open conflict. Finally, in the year 1054, — at the very time when the papacy was gathering its strength for its great conflict with the empire, and the shadow of the Turkish peril was coming upon the East, — the heads of the two churches mutually excommunicated each other, and Christians of the East and of the West were thenceforth mortal enemies. Many efforts were made to heal the schism, but in vain: the differences as to ceremonies and the creed might have been patched up; but there remained the fatal obstacle of the dispute over the papal headship.

85. Summary

The middle of the eleventh century saw the papacy feeble and the empire all-powerful; the middle of the twelfth found the papacy in the most brilliant period of its history, while the empire was sunk in decline. This was the result of the policy so unflinchingly pursued by Gregory VII. (1073–1085). With Leo I. (440–461), Gregory I. (590–604), and Nicholas I. (858–867), he is to be reckoned one of the founders of the papal power. In place of control of the church by the temporal authorities, which had existed in the days of Constantine, of Charlemagne, and of Otto the Great, Gregory put forward the claim of the spiritual power to control the temporal. A partial success was won at Canossa, and a compromise was arranged in the Concordat of Worms; but the struggle was not ended. Among the results of Gregory's policy should be noted the seeds of that fear and hatred felt by the German people for the Roman court down to the Reformation; and the alienation of the Emperor from the church, and of the Eastern and Western churches from each other, at the most important moment of all — the beginning of the period of the Crusades.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Hildebrand more of a theologian or an ecclesiastical statesman? (2) To what extent did desire for power influence him? (3) Was his policy a good one for the world? (4) Make a list of the forces supporting Gregory VII. and those supporting Henry IV. (5) Why did the Saxons revolt against Henry IV.? (6) Was the interview at Canossa a victory for the Pope or for the Emperor? (7) Why was the settlement agreed to by Paschal II. rejected? (8) Why are conflicts between church and state less frequent to-day than in the Middle Ages?

Search topics

(9) The empire under Henry III. (10) The College of Cardinals. (11) Character and aims of Hildebrand. (12) Character and aims of Henry IV. (13) The Saxon revolt. (14) Henry IV. at Canossa. (15) Countess Matilda and the addition of her territory to the Papal States. (16) Excommunication as a papal weapon. (17) Present extent and organization of the Greek Church.

(18) The Nicene creed in the West. (19) Celebrated concordats. (20) Routes across the Alps used by Emperors.

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EUROPE
ABOUT THE TIME OF
THE FIRST CRUSADE (1097)
First Crusade
Third "
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
IRELAND
Dublin
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
WALES
Chester
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
Oxford
Evesham
London
Canterbury
Hastings
Calais
FLANDERS
Bouvines
DENMARK
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Cologne
BOUILLON
Mainz
Nuremberg
GERMAN EMPIRE
Ratisbon
AUSTRIA
NORMANDY
St. Denis
Paris
Blois
Clairvaux
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Loire R.
Danube R.
AQUITAINE
Clermont
Lyons
Ezelon
BURGUNDY
ROMAN EMPIRE
Milan
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Venice
ADRIATIC SEA
Genoa
Pisa
Toulouse
Avignon
Marseilles
KINGDOM OF LEON
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
COUNTY OF BARCELONA
Richard
Richard's Fleet
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
Toledo
Lisbon
Barcelona
Valencia
Cordova
Granada
Seville
SARDINIA
Strait of Gibraltar
Messina
SICILY
Syracuse
Tunis
MALTA
Tripoli
ALMORAVIDES
Longitude
East
50
40
30
20
10
0

ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA
AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Trebizond
EASTERN EMPIRE
SULTANATE OF ROUM
SELJUKIAN DOMINIONS IN ASIA MINOR
Armenians
Edessa
CONQUESTS OF THE CRUSADERS
Antioch
Euphrates R.
CYPRUS
Tripoli
SYRIA
Jerusalem
ARABIA
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Red Sea
Novgorod
Esthonians
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Kief
Dniepr
LAND OF THE PETCHENEGS
HUNGARY
Danube R.
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
EMPIRE
GEORGIA
Sinope
Constantinople
Trebizond
ARMENIA
Manzikert
LANDS OF THE SULTANATE OF ROUM
SELJUKIAN TURKS
Edessa
Mosul
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Bagdad
Antioch
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Tripoli
Tyre
Damascus
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Damietta
Alexandria
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
ARABIA
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
from Greenwich
Cairo

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN EAST, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE (1096–1099)

86. Byzantine Empire (717–1096)

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Byzantine or Greek Empire seemed brought to the verge of ruin through attacks by Slavs, Bulgarians, and Arabs. When, however, Italy, Egypt, and Africa were lost, the remainder proved easier to defend and to govern, so that under the Isaurian Emperors (717–802) an improvement began, and under the Macedonian line (867–1057) came a period of conquest and military glory, lasting from the middle of the tenth to the first quarter of the eleventh century. Crete, Cyprus, northern Syria and Antioch, and even Bulgaria, were for a time recovered. Following the death of the last of the Macedonian rulers came a period of anarchy lasting for a quarter of a century. Then the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) brought in a new period under a new dynasty, when the empire — more Greek and less cosmopolitan, its territory decreased and its civilization stereotyped — stood upon the defensive. But for two hundred years it nevertheless offered a brave and constant resistance to Mohammedan attacks.

Among the causes of weakness in the Byzantine Empire were the endless disputes on theological questions carried on by idle monks, and the riots of the fanatical populace to which these frequently led. Another cause of weakness was the lack of a regular succession to the imperial power: out of one hundred and seven persons who ruled as Emperors or associates, from the time of the separation of the Eastern Empire to its

fall (395–1453), only thirty-four died a natural death in office; the remainder were assassinated, were mutilated, died in prison or convent, or abdicated the throne.

The prosperity of the empire was nevertheless real and substantial. The coinage was sound, taxation just, manufactures flourishing, and trade widespread. The old legislative power of the Senate was suppressed, and the last barriers to the autocracy of the Emperor removed; but the administration was well devised, and not oppressive. By its orphan asylums, hospitals, and like institutions, the Byzantine Empire anticipated much that we regard as modern. Learning of an encyclopedic sort flourished; and there, up to the eleventh century, the only truly original Christian art was to be found. Diplomacy, with its deceits and intrigues, was developed to a high degree before it was taken up by the Venetians and introduced into the Western world. The language of the laws and the law courts was now Greek, and Latin ceased to be of practical use.

87. Its prosperity

War was studied as an art, while in the West it remained a mere matter of hard fighting. Native recruits largely replaced the Slavic, Teutonic, and Asiatic mercenaries of Justinian's day; but the famous "Varangian" bodyguard of the Emperors, composed of Danes and English, was cherished because of its loyalty and bravery. From the eighth to the twelfth century only the Byzantines possessed the secret of the "Greek fire" (composed of saltpeter, sulphur, charcoal, and bitumen) whose fierce flames, black smoke, and loud explosions destroyed hostile fleets and carried terror to the hearts of their enemies.

To impress the common people an elaborate ceremonial was devised, regulating every act of the Emperor; and to impress foreign envoys golden lions roared and lashed their tails at the foot of the throne, while golden birds sang in a golden tree near by. But despite such follies, it is not too much to say

that "in the history of mediæval civilization before the eleventh century, Byzantium [Constantinople] played a rôle analogous to that of Athens and Rome in antiquity, or Paris in modern times; its influence extended over the whole world; it was preëminently 'the city.'"

Munro and Sellery, Medieval Civilization, 223

Meantime, a new power made its appearance in the world, that of the Mohammedan Arabs, whose achievements almost justify the remark that "from the eighth to the twelfth century the ancient world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium, and that of the Arabs." Mohammedan civilization displayed much the greater expansive force, spreading over large parts of Asia, northern Africa, and southwestern Europe; "from the river Indus to the Pillars of Hercules the same religion was professed, the same tongue spoken, the same laws obeyed." Its four chief centers were Damascus, in Syria; Bagdad, on the river Tigris (founded about 760); Cairo, on the lower Nile (founded about 970); and Cordova, in Spain. Greek, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Spanish, and Hindu elements entered into this civilization along with the Arabic: but the Arabic was the chief element, for the Arabian genius combined all into one living creation bearing the stamp of its own nature.

88. The Mohammedan world (732–1096)

DAMASCUS: FOUNTAIN OF ABLUTION IN THE GRAND MOSQUE.
Present condition.

In agriculture, manufactures, commerce, science, and art

the Mohammedan world compared favorably with Christian Europe. Agriculture was not despised, as it was among the feudal nobles of Europe; and rich Mohammedans reveled in gardens of roses, jasmines, and camellias. Irrigation was extensively practiced, and grafting became a science. Among new plants introduced into Europe by the Arabs were rice, sugar cane, hemp, artichokes, asparagus, the mulberry, orange, lemon, and apricot.

In manufactures Mohammedans excelled: the sword blades of Toledo and Damascus make were world-renowned; and equal skill was shown in the manufacture of coats of mail at once supple and strong; of vases, lamps, and like articles in copper, bronze, and silver; of carpets and rugs which are still unexcelled; and of vessels of fine glass and pottery. Sugars, syrups, sweetmeats, essences, and perfumes were of Mohammedan production; paper came to Europe through the Mohammedans; and Cordova was long famous for its manufactures of skins and fine leather.

Old Arabian Money.

Commerce was widely followed, and no one looked down upon this occupation, to which Mohammed had been bred. In each city was a "bazaar," or merchants' quarter. The Arab sailor ruled the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Caspian Sea. Caravans threaded their way, from oasis to oasis, to the heart of Africa, and across the wilds of Asia to China and to India. The compass, first discovered by the Chinese, was known to the Arabs long before its introduction into Europe.

In literature (especially poetry) and in science the Arabs attained a high degree of development. The University of Cairo at one time had 12,000 students; in Spain, in the tenth

century, a library of 400,000 manuscript volumes (each probably a mere part of a complete work) is said to have been gathered. The Arabian philosophers were well versed in the writings of Aristotle and the Neoplatonists of Alexandria, whose works they read in Arabic translations.

89. Arabian literature and science

In mathematics, Mohammedan scholars led the world: trigonometry was much improved, and algebra was practically their creation, though its elements were derived from the Greeks and Hindus. The introduction of the "Arabic" system of notation, in place of the clumsy Roman numerals, is ascribed to them; and the use of the cipher, placed to the right of the digit to give "value of position," seems clearly to have been their invention. In optics and astronomy the Arabs made considerable advance. In chemistry many of our common terms, such as "elixir," "alcohol," "alkali," are of Arabic derivation and record our indebtedness to Arabic researches. In medicine the Arabs were skilled practitioners, far in advance of Christian Europe; and they seem even to have known something of anæsthetics. Pharmacy was practically created by them, and many of their preparations are still in use.

In the eleventh century the religious and political unity of the Mohammedan world was broken, and the real power had passed from the hands of the Arabs into those of their mercenary soldiers, the Seljukian Turks, so-called from the chief, Seljuk, who first united them into one people. They were of Asiatic stock, like the Huns, Magyars, and Bulgarians, but unlike the Magyars and Bulgarians, they embraced Mohammedanism instead of Christianity. The whole of Asia at this time seemed about to pass into Turkish hands: in northern China was established the Manchurian kingdom, from which come the present rulers of China (1004); in Afghanistan and India, in the same year, a great Turkish state was erected; in the middle of the century (1058) the leader of the Seljukian Turks occupied Bagdad, and became

90. The Seljukian Turks (1058-1076)

the champion of the orthodox caliph, with the title "Sultan of the East and West"; in 1076 the Turks captured the holy city of Jerusalem. After 1058 the caliph was merely the religious head of the Mohammedan state, and Turkish princes — of whom, at the end of the century, there were a number, rival and independent — were the veritable sovereigns. The military prowess of the Turks spread Mohammedanism over new areas; but they cared little for Arabian civilization, and brought a new element into the strife of East and West.

That strife was suddenly intensified by the breaking out of the great movement known as the Crusades, for which there were several causes. (1) Throughout the Middle Ages the terror of the hereafter weighed with more awful force upon mankind than it does to-day: in exceptional occurrences a supernatural agency was generally seen, and the writings of the times are full of encounters with devils and demons. With this temper of mind went a belief in the power of penitential acts to avert divine wrath, and in the miracle-working virtue of relics of the saints, especially objects connected with the life and death of Christ; hence, after the fourth century, pilgrimages to the holy places of Palestine were common. In the year 1064 seven thousand pilgrims, under the leadership of the Archbishop of Mainz, went in a single company. This outburst of zeal for pilgrimages, it is to be noted, came just at a time when the tolerant rule of the Arabs in the East was replaced by the bigotry and fierce contempt of the Turks; it was a chief cause of the Crusades.

91. Causes of the Crusades

PILGRIM.
From a 13th century MS.

(2) The time, too, had now come when the peoples of western Europe might look about for wider fields of adventure. The Hungarian and Viking raids were over. Europe was settling

down to comparative peace and quiet under its feudal governments; the modern nations, with their problems, had not yet arisen; commerce and city life were still in their infancy. Thus there was no sufficient outlet at home for the spirit of adventure, which in the Middle Ages always ran high.

(3) The East was regarded as a land of fabulous riches, where not only fame but fortune might be won. The hope of gain — of winning lands and principalities — was a powerful factor in the minds of many, and must be reckoned among the causes of the Crusades. In this respect the movement may be looked upon as merely a part of the movement of expansion which caused the Norman conquests of southern Italy and England, and the German advance eastward beyond the Elbe.

The chief object of the Crusades was the rescue of Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels; but the first call grew out of the danger which threatened the Eastern Empire. In 1071, at Manzikert in Armenia, the Turks defeated the forces of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the emperor (Romanus IV.) was taken prisoner. Almost the whole of Asia Minor passed into Turkish hands; and one of their chieftains, establishing himself at Nicæa, almost within sight of Constantinople, took the title "Sultan of Roum" — that is, of Rome. Several years passed before an Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, found himself free to give Asia his attention; then he sent an embassy to the Pope, as the head of Latin Christendom, in an effort to enlist western knights for the Turkish war: the result was the call to the First Crusade.

92. Advance of the Turks (1071–1092)

At Clermont, in France, Pope Urban II. held a council in November, 1095, to consider investiture and to punish the French king, Philip I., for divorcing his wife. When this business was finished the Pope, with burning eloquence, addressed an open-air assembly of thousands of French prelates and nobles in their own tongue; and is reported to have spoken thus: "Christ himself will be your

93. Council of Clermont (1095)

leader when you fight for Jerusalem. Let not love of any earthly possession detain you. You dwell in a land narrow and unfertile. Your numbers overflow, and hence you devour one another in wars. Let these home discords cease. Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulcher; wrest the land from the accursed race, and subdue it to yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth, and return home victorious, or purpled with your own blood receive an everlasting reward." Hearing these words from the head of the church, the people cried: "God wills it! God wills it!" "When you go forth to meet the enemy," said Urban, "this shall indeed be your watchword, 'God wills it!'"

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 30–31

Many pledged themselves forthwith to undertake the work, and to these a cross of red cloth — the sign of pilgrims to the Holy Land — was given, to be worn on the breast going and on the back returning. The crusader (from *crux*, a cross) was thus given the protection attaching to pilgrims; during his absence no one might trouble him for debt, and whoever took his goods was excommunicated. On their part the crusaders were considered to have taken a vow to fight the infidels, and not to return until they had beheld the Holy Sepulcher.

CRUSADER.
From a 13th century MS.

August 15, 1096, was fixed as the date for departure, but impatient zeal was aroused during the winter by popular preachers, of whom the most noted was Peter the Hermit, to whom for centuries was wrongly ascribed the original idea of the crusade. In the spring, bands of peasants and townsmen, for many of whom any change was a gain, began to assemble; they were without arms or provisions, and were incumbered with women and children. At Cologne and elsewhere the Jews were massacred in a frenzy of religious zeal. Under the leadership of a knight called Walter the Penniless, of Peter the Hermit, and others, several successive companies took the road down the valley of the Danube, which since the conversion of the Hungarians was the ordinary pilgrim route. Without adequate leadership or preparations, the misguided multitudes perished miserably on the way, or left their bones to whiten the plains of Asia Minor. Walter and most of his followers were slaughtered by the Sultan of Roum, but Peter escaped to await the coming of the main crusade.

94. The crusade of the people (1096)

In the summer and fall of 1096 the lords and knights set out, armed with coats of mail, swords, and lances; they were provided with sums of money, often obtained by the sale of their belongings at ruinous prices; and they were accompanied by attendants on foot and by carts laden with provisions. The Pope had been asked to lead the crusade in person; he declined the perilous office, but commissioned a bishop as his legate. There was no general leadership; each crusader went at his own cost, and obeyed only his own will. The crusaders naturally grouped themselves about the better known nobles, such as Raymond, count of Toulouse; Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard; Godfrey of Bouillon; and Robert of Normandy, brother of the English king William II.

95. The crusade of knights (1096–1097)

The crusaders assembled at different places, and departed as they were ready, in four different companies. The Germans and those from the north of France followed the valley of

the Danube; others traversed Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and proceeded thence by land to Constantinople. "How great a city it is; how noble and comely!" wrote one of their number, of that capital. "What wondrously wrought monasteries and palaces are therein! What marvels everywhere in street and square! Tedious would it be to recite its wealth in all precious things, in gold and silver, in divers shaped cloaks, and saintly relics. For thither do ships bring at all times all things that man requires."

96. Crusaders at Constantinople

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 50

Capture of Nicæa (1097).
From a church window in the abbey of St. Denis, as pictured in a 12th century MS.

The Emperor Alexius had expected a few thousand men in response to his call, where scores of thousands came. Mutual hatreds quickly sprang up, and the Emperor was glad, in the spring of 1097, to speed the "Franks," as the crusaders were called, out of the city and across into Asia Minor. After several weeks' siege, Nicæa surrendered; but it passed, not to the crusaders, but to the Greeks. Suffering from thirst and attacked by the Turks, the crusaders made their way through Asia Minor, with the loss of most of their horses. To add to the difficulties of their situation, quarrels arose between rival leaders. In front of Antioch, which they reached in October, 1097, they were checked for more than a year, by its strong walls and their lack of skill in the construction and operation of siege engines.

The events of this period, and the sentiments of the crusaders, are indicated in the following letter, which Stephen of Blois, a powerful French noble, brother-in-law of the English king, wrote from before Antioch in March, 1098: —

97. Letter of a crusader (1098)

"Count Stephen to Adele, his sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks, — his greeting and blessing: —

"You may be very sure, dearest, that the messenger whom I sent left me before Antioch safe and unharmed, and through God's grace in the greatest prosperity. Already at that time we had been continuously advancing for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus. You may know for certain, my beloved, that of gold, silver, and many other kinds of riches I now have twice as much as your love had assigned to me when I left you.

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, I. No. 4 (condensed)

"You have certainly heard that, after the capture of the city of Nicæa, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid conquered them. Next we conquered for the Lord all Romania [*i.e.* the sultanate of Roum], and afterwards Cappadocia. Thence, continually following the wicked Turks, we drove them through Armenia, as far as the great river Euphrates. Having left all their baggage and beasts of burden on the bank, they fled across the river into Arabia.

"The bolder of the Turkish soldiers, indeed, entering Syria, hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks; and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid, we fought with the fiercest courage, under the leadership of Christ. And in all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered

and most assuredly killed an innumerable host of them. In those battles, indeed, and in very many attacks made upon the city, many of our brethren and followers were killed, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

"In fighting against these enemies of God, and our own, we have by God's grace endured many sufferings and innumerable evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Very many of our Franks, indeed, would have met a temporal death from starvation, if the clemency of God, and our money, had not succored them. Before the above mentioned city of Antioch, indeed, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very similar to our winter in the West.

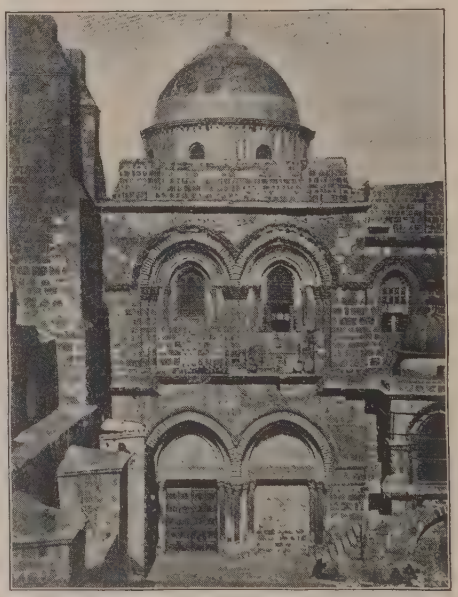
"When the emir of Antioch — that is, prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes. These five emirs, with twelve thousand picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, indeed, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses. For there are one hundred and sixty-five cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with seven hundred soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful, against them. For on that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we also carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right,

to carefully watch over your land, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. You will certainly see me just as soon as I can possibly return to you. Farewell."

Antioch fell in June, 1098, betrayed to the crusaders by one of its inhabitants. Three days later an immense army sent by the Seljukian sultan arrived for its relief, and the crusaders themselves were forced to stand siege. Through the aid of a vision thrice repeated, the Holy Lance, which pierced the side of Christ, was discovered buried in the soil: many disbelieved, but others were fired to prodigies of valor by the sacred relic. The Turks were beaten off, and the crusaders proceeded southward along the coast.

98. Capture of Jerusalem (1099)



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.
Present condition.

Owing to quarrels and delays on the road, it was June, 1099, before they came in sight of Jerusalem. A few months before, the caliph of Egypt had wrested the city from the Turks; and he now offered free access to the Holy Sepulcher for unarmed pilgrims in small numbers. These terms were refused. After several weeks, the city was taken by assault (July 15, 1099). Then followed scenes which showed how little the teachings of Christ had sunk into the crusaders' hearts. "When our

men had taken the city, with its walls and towers," says an eyewitness, "there were things wondrous to be seen. For some of the enemy (and this is a small matter) were reft of their heads, while others, riddled through with arrows, were forced to leap down from the towers; others, after long torture, were burned in the flames. In all the streets and squares there were to be seen piles of heads, and hands, and feet; and along the public ways foot and horse alike made passage over the bodies of the dead."

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 91

The vow of the crusaders was fulfilled: but at what a cost of lives, both Christian and Mohammedan; of agonies of battle and sufferings on the way; of women made widows, and children left fatherless!

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99. Summary

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Eastern Empire was prosperous and highly civilized. The Mohammedan world, under Arabian rule, was cultured and tolerant. The rise of the Seljukian Turks (1058) changed political and religious conditions, for Mohammedanism became intolerant and aggressive. The Eastern Empire soon lost most of its Asiatic possessions. To resist the Turks, Alexius Comnenus sought to enlist mercenary soldiers in the West, which was now in a condition to undertake distant enterprises. Religious zeal, the spirit of adventure, and greed for booty enabled Pope Urban II. to convert the aid sent to Alexius into the First Crusade. The impractical character of the times showed itself in the popular movement under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless (1096). The crusade of the knights was better managed, and resulted in the capture of Jerusalem (1099). But cruelty, jealousy, and self-seeking were as marked traits of the leaders as was devotion to religious ideals. In spite of flashes of lofty idealism, the crusader in Palestine was little different from the rude, superstitious, selfish baron at home.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Which was the more exposed to barbarian attack, the East or the West? (2) What advantages were possessed in the Middle Ages by a settled hereditary succession over a line of elective rulers? Why are there not the same advantages to-day? (3) Compare the coming of the Turks into the East with that of the Germans into the West. (4) Were the causes of the Crusades more in external events or in the prevalence of a particular state of mind? (5) What motive besides the religious one led Stephen of Blois to the Crusade? (6) Why do men not go on crusades to-day? (7) Why did the crusaders slay the Mohammedans at Jerusalem?

Search topics

(8) Life in Constantinople on the eve of the Crusades. (9) The debt of civilization to the Saracens. (10) The Mohammedan heretical sect of the Shiites. (11) The First Crusade as seen by a participant. (12) Peter the Hermit in myth and in history. (13) Relations of the crusaders with the Eastern Emperor. (14) Bagdad in the *Arabian Nights*. (15) Works of art in Constantinople. (16) Arabian merchants in the Far East.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE LATER CRUSADES (1099–1291)

After the successful termination of the First Crusade, the next task was to organize and safeguard the Christian conquests. Jerusalem was made an independent kingdom, and the rest was organized into three auxiliary states — the principality of Antioch, and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli. Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen to rule at Jerusalem; and he took the title "Defender of the Holy Sepulcher" instead of king, being unwilling, it is said, "to wear a crown of gold where Christ had worn a crown of thorns." Most of the crusaders departed as soon as their vows were fulfilled; but others came to take their places, and gradually the power of the "Franks" was fixed in the regions about the four capital cities. The peasants — who were already, for the most part, Christians of vari-

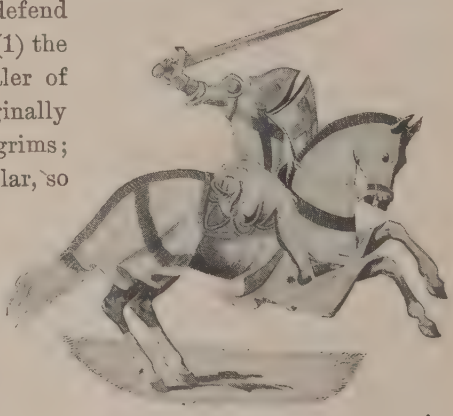
100. Organization of conquests in Asia

Crusaders' States in Syria after the First Crusade.

ous Eastern faiths—kept their lands, paying tribute to their Latin masters, as they had formerly done to the Mohammedans. Above them were placed crusading lords, who held their lands as fiefs, and whose castles helped to keep the land in obedience. Feudalism was transplanted full-grown into Palestine, and in the course of the twelfth century the feudal usages were drawn up into a code called the "Assizes of Jerusalem." The lords were almost all French, and French became the language of the Latin East; but Italian merchants came in large numbers (from Venice, Genoa, and Pisa especially) to profit by the new facilities for trade.

Besides the constant reënforcements from the West, the Franks depended on three orders of knighthood which sprang up especially to defend the Holy Land: (1) the Knights Hospitaler of St. John, formed originally to care for sick pilgrims; (2) the Knights Templar, so called from their headquarters in the inclosure of the ancient temple of Jerusalem; and (3) the Order of Teutonic Knights, which was composed of Germans, whereas the members of the others were mostly French. The Hospitalers wore a white cross on a black mantle, the Templars a red one on white, and the Teutonic Knights a black cross on a white ground. The members of these orders were monks, vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience, and living under a rule; but they were also knights, of noble birth, trained to arms, and

101. The military orders



KNIGHT TEMPLAR.
From a 13th century MS.

bound to perpetual warfare against the infidel. They constituted a permanent force of military monks, resident in the Holy Land, with their own grand masters, fortresses, domains, and treasuries. In course of time they acquired immense possessions in Europe also. After the end of the crusading epoch, the Templars were forcibly dissolved and their goods confiscated; the Teutonic Knights transferred themselves to the shores of the Baltic Sea, and there continued to wage war against the heathen; and the Knights Hospitaler, taking refuge in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and finally in Malta, preserved an independent existence until the close of the eighteenth century.

The Crusades continued throughout the twelfth and the greater part of the thirteenth century. It is customary to describe them as "First," "Second," and so on; but this usage obscures the fact that the warfare was almost continuous, and that there was a constant movement of crusaders to and from the Holy Land. At times some exceptional occurrence produced an increase of zeal, and it is to the exceptional expeditions that the conventional numbers apply, though other movements of almost equal importance must be passed by without notice.

102. The Second Crusade (1147–1149)

The so-called Second Crusade took place a half century after the first. It was caused by the consolidation of the petty Mohammedan states of Syria under one powerful ruler, the Atabek (viceroy) of Mosul. The Latin states were weakened by quarrels of the Templars with the Hospitalers, of the French with other nationalities, of the Genoese with the Pisans and Venetians, and of newcomers from the West with the older settlers, whom they accused of too great favor toward the infidels. These divisions made it easy for the atabek, in 1144, to conquer Edessa and massacre its garrison; and news of this disaster caused Saint Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux, to make himself the preacher of another crusade. Bernard was a man of rare ability,

education, and devotion, and was the most important figure of the twelfth century; in some respects he is the most typical man of the Middle Ages. His influence induced two sovereigns, Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany, to take the cross and lead the crusading forces.

The route of the Second Crusade was the old one, down the Danube valley and across Bulgaria to Constantinople. Most of the Germans, under Conrad III., perished in Asia Minor, through the attacks of the Turks and the hardships of the way. Of the army under Louis VII., those without money to pay for their passage aboard ship continued by land and were almost all destroyed. Only a few troops of the two great armies which set out from Europe reached Palestine. The whole expedition was a lamentable failure — a result ascribed by some to their sins, by others to treachery of the Greeks, but really due to the miserable mismanagement of the leaders.

103. Saladin, and the fall of Jerusalem (1187)

The power of the atabeks of Mosul grew to yet greater heights. The emir of Damascus was conquered; then Egypt was taken, and the caliphate there was suppressed (1171) by the famous Saladin (Salah-ed-Din), nephew of the reigning atabek, who secured all of his uncle's dominions, and took the title of sultan. The Christians in Syria now found themselves exposed to attacks from one who was wise in counsel, brave in battle, and as chivalrous in conduct and sincere in his faith as the best of his Christian foes. In July, 1187, Saladin won a great victory over the Franks, taking captive the king of Jerusalem and the grand master of the Templars. "So great is the multitude of the Saracens and Turks," wrote a Hospitaler, appealing to Europe for aid, "that from Tyre, which they are besieging, they cover the face of the earth as far as Jerusalem, like an innumerable army of ants." In October Jerusalem itself fell, and the Latin states were reduced to a few strongly fortified towns near the coast.

University of Pennsylvania, Translations, I. No. 4

The loss of Jerusalem caused another great outburst of crusading zeal in Europe. Public fasts and prayers were enjoined in the Western Church, and the fullest privileges and spiritual benefits were promised those who should go to the relief of the Holy Land. The three greatest kings of western Europe — Richard I. the Lion-Hearted (Cœur de Lion), of England; Philip II., surnamed Augustus, of France; and Frederick I. of Germany, called Barbarossa (Redbeard) — took the cross, and assumed the lead of the Third Crusade. The Emperor Frederick, who had gone in his youth on the Second Crusade, was the first to start on the Third. Thorough organization and strict discipline enabled Frederick to lead his army by the Danube route without the customary losses; but while crossing a mountain torrent in Asia Minor the old Emperor was drowned (June, 1190), and thereupon the German expedition went to pieces.

104. Third Crusade organized (1189–1190)

The preparations of Richard and Philip were delayed by their mutual hostilities, and it was not until after the death of Frederick that they actually started, both expeditions going by water. The measures taken against lawlessness and violence are shown by the following regulations, drawn up by Richard for the English fleet: "Whoever on board ship shall slay another is himself to be cast into the sea lashed to the dead man; if he have slain him ashore, he is to be buried in the same way. . . . Let a convicted thief be shorn like a prize fighter; after which let boiling pitch be poured on his head and a feather pillow be shaken over it so as to make him a laughing stock. Then let him be put ashore at the first land where the ships touch."

Archer, Crusade of Richard I., 9–10

At Messina, in Sicily, the two expeditions met and spent the winter. For the combined armies these regulations were issued: "Let no one in the whole army play at any game for a stake — saving only knights and clerks, who, however, are not to lose more than twenty *solidi* [*solidus* = a

Archer, Crusade of Richard I., 37–39

silver coin] in the twenty-four hours. . . . The kings, however, may play at their good pleasure. . . . If, after starting on the journey, any pilgrim has borrowed from another man, he shall pay the debt; but so long as he is on the pilgrimage he shall not be liable for a debt contracted before starting. . . . No merchant of any kind may buy bread or flour in the army to sell it again. . . . Merchants, no matter of what calling, shall only make a profit of one penny in ten."

105. Third Crusade carried out (1191–1192)

In Sicily the two kings wrangled; and Richard, following up a quarrel with the Sicilian ruler, took Messina and sacked it. Philip at last departed without Richard, and reached Acre in Syria in April, 1191. The English, following later, again turned aside — this time to conquer Cyprus, whose king had permitted the plunder of pilgrim vessels on his coast.

Present View of Acre.

In June, Richard joined Philip before Acre, the siege of which had already dragged on for more than twenty months.

Archer and Kingsford, Crusades, 323

"The Lord is not in the camp," wrote one of the besiegers before this date; "there is none that doeth good. The leaders strive with one another, while the lesser folk starve and have none to help. The Turks are persistent in

attack, while our knights skulk within their tents." The arrival of Richard infused new energy into the operations. He was an undutiful son, an oppressive king, and (in spite of his superficial chivalry and courtesy) a violent and cruel man; but he was a warrior of splendid strength and skill, and one of the best military engineers of the Middle Ages. In July, Acre capitulated; when the ransom agreed upon was not forthcoming, Richard massacred 2000 hostages left in his hands.

After the fall of Acre, Philip returned to France, taking an oath not to attack Richard's territories in his absence — an oath which he straightway broke. In the subsequent operations in Syria, motives of selfish interest were more prominent than in the First Crusade. In January, 1192, Richard advanced almost to within sight of Jerusalem, but was forced to retreat. Finally, news came from England that his brother John had rebelled against him, in alliance with Philip of France.

Recalled by this news, Richard set out in October for home. He landed at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and sought to make his way in disguise through Germany; but was recognized, and was thrown into prison by the duke of Austria, whom he had grievously offended on the crusade. He had made an enemy of the Emperor also by allying himself with German rebels; so he obtained his liberty only after two years of captivity, and on the payment of a ruinous ransom. The remainder of his life (he died in 1199) was spent in warfare with Philip of France. Saladin, who had done so much to revive the Mohammedan power, died in 1193.

106. Fourth Crusade (1201–1204)

The enthusiasm which produced the Crusades was slowly dying out, but the exhortations of the papacy could still call it forth to momentary activity. Innocent III., who became Pope in 1198, appealed to the princes of Europe, as vassals of Christ, to reconquer for Him the Holy Land. No king responded to this call, but a number of knights and nobles (mostly French) gathered at Venice for the Fourth

Crusade in 1201. It was intended at first to strike at the Mohammedan power in Egypt, as the likeliest way to secure the permanent recovery of Palestine; but circumstances led the crusaders to turn their arms against Constantinople, and waste their strength in fighting Christian foes.

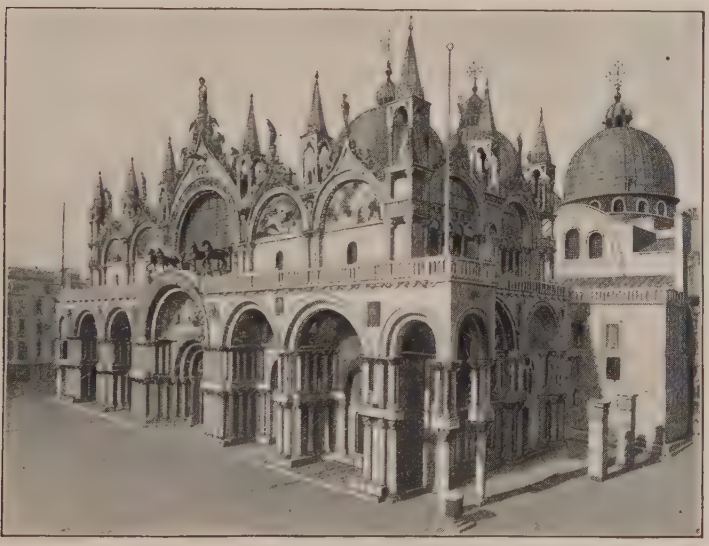
Six years earlier the Greek emperor, Isaac Angelus, had been overthrown, blinded, and imprisoned through a revolution; and his son came to the West to beg for aid. The Venetians, who had contracted to carry the crusaders to the East for a large sum of money, cared little for the crusade, but a great deal for their contract. When the crusaders found that they were not able to pay the full amount they had agreed upon, the Venetian "doge" (duke) Dandolo — a man ninety years of age and blind, but possessed of the highest courage and ambition for his city — induced their chiefs to turn their arms against Constantinople. Pope Innocent III. had already excommunicated the crusaders for attacking a Christian town in Dalmatia to aid the Venetians; but it was rightly believed that the prospect of extending the papal power over the Greek Church would cause him to forget his anger.

DOGE OF VENICE.
Costume before the 16th century. From Cesare Vecellio.

After a short siege, Constantinople fell in July, 1203 — the first time it was ever taken by a foreign foe. Isaac Angelus was restored to his throne, but he and his son soon perished in a rebellion of the fanatical populace, and the crusaders were forced to capture the city a second time. Terrible punishment was now meted out to the van-

107. Sack of Constantinople.

quished. In three great fires the most populous parts of the city were destroyed. Violence and indignity were the lot of the survivors; and Pope Innocent III. accused the crusaders of respecting neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession. The city was systematically pillaged; even the churches were profaned, and stripped of their rich hangings and of their gold and silver vessels. Precious works of art —



St. Mark's Church, Venice.
Façade remodeled in fifteenth century.

the accumulation of a thousand years — were destroyed; statues of brass and bronze were broken up and melted for the metal which they contained; and the Venetians carried to Venice the four bronze horses which still adorn the front of their Church of St. Mark. The more pious gave themselves to the search for holy relics — a venerable and profitable booty. As a result of this sack, Constantinople lost forever that unique splendor which had made it the wonder of the world.

In the division of the conquered territory the Venetians got the lion's share, receiving practically a monopoly of the trade of the empire, together with the possession of most of the islands and coast lands of the Ægean and Ionian seas. The remainder of the empire (so far as it was in the possession of the crusaders) was divided among their chiefs, and a feudal state was erected: of this "Latin Empire"

108. Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)

SALADIN'S EMPIRE, AND THE RESULTS OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

of Constantinople, Count Baldwin of Flanders was chosen emperor, while a Venetian priest was set as Patriarch over the Greek Church.

"No feudal state was ever strong, but no feudal state was ever so weak as the Latin Empire in the East;" this was chiefly due to the hostility of the Greeks to their new masters. In Asia Minor there was from the beginning a rival government which afforded a rallying point for the Greek nationality; and when Constantinople was recaptured by the Greeks, in 1261, the Latin Empire was overthrown, after half a century of uncertain existence. In certain localities

Tout, Empire and Papacy, 349

"Frank" feudatories were enabled to hold out longer, and the remains of their castles still dot the landscape of Greece. The Venetians kept much of their conquests for centuries, and long after the Middle Ages they retained something of the power in the eastern Mediterranean which Dandolo, their blind old doge, gained for them in the Fourth Crusade.

Throughout the thirteenth century there was much talk of crusades, and Europe was systematically and regularly taxed for them, but with very little positive results. In 1218 an expedition composed mainly of Germans, who made the long voyage around by Gibraltar in three hundred ships, was directed against Egypt. The city of Damietta, in the delta of the Nile, was taken, and the sultan offered in exchange the kingdom of Jerusalem. The offer was rejected; then the crusaders were defeated, and were glad to give up Damietta in return merely for a free retreat (1221).

109. Crusade against Egypt (1218–1221)

In 1228–1229 occurred a crusade under the Emperor Frederick II. which resulted in restoring Jerusalem for a time to the Christians, although the crusade was hampered by Frederick's quarrel with the Pope, who excommunicated him (§ 132) both before and after he sailed. Frederick, who was in advance of his age, treated with the sultan instead of fighting him; and by skillful negotiation he secured a truce for ten years, and the restoration of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem to the Christians (map, p. 129).

110. Crusade by Frederick II. (1228–1229)

After Frederick's departure, the kingdom of Jerusalem was for fifteen years filled with the wars and brigandage of Christians; and the only thing that saved it thus long from recapture was the fact that the Mohammedan world also was torn by dissensions. In 1244 Jerusalem was finally lost to a new Turkish race (the Charismians) fresh from the interior of Asia. This calamity produced no great outburst of crusading zeal; the Popes were engaged in the last desperate struggle with the Hohenstaufen Emperors (see ch. x.), and the peoples and

princes of western Europe were beginning to be occupied with problems nearer home.

111. Last crusades (1248–1291)

However, in 1248, Louis IX. of France (later canonized as a saint) set out for Egypt with a French army. He succeeded only in duplicating the failure of 1218: again Damietta was taken; then the army was defeated, King Louis and most of his men were captured, and he was forced to ransom himself by the surrender of Damietta and the payment of a large sum of money. After his release the king remained for four years (until 1254) in Syria, strengthening the few Christian posts that were left.

In 1270 Louis IX. again undertook a crusade, but was diverted this time to Tunis. There he died of the plague, and the army returned to France. Prince Edward of England had taken the cross at the same time, and spent two years in Syria, but returned in 1272 to take the English crown as Edward I. Acre, the last Christian stronghold in Syria, fell in 1291. Thereafter no armies went to Syria or Egypt to attempt the recovery of the holy places. Thenceforth the Latin power in the East was represented only by the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes. Soon Christendom had to tax its energies to defend Europe itself against the Ottoman Turks, the latest and most formidable champions of Mohammedanism. The period of the Crusades was at an end.

112. Results of the Crusades

The tendency has been to exaggerate the influence of the Crusades and to minimize the importance of other factors in changing the institutions and customs of Europe. Nevertheless, the migration, year by year, of thousands of persons to and from the Mohammedan East, during a period of nearly two centuries, could not but have important results for the Christian West.

(1) In respect to military usages, Europe owed to the Crusades the drum, trumpet, tents, quilted armor for the protection of the common soldier, the surcoat worn over the knightly coat

of mail, the whole system of armorial "bearings" (heraldic devices on shields, etc.) by which knights proclaimed their family and lineage, and many improvements in the art of building and taking fortified places: "the siege of great fenced cities like Nicæa, Antioch, or Jerusalem was almost an education in itself to the engineers of the West." Among social effects were the increased use of baths, the increased use of pepper and other spices in foods, and the wearing of the beard.

Oman, History of the Art of War, 526

(2) On the development of commerce, the Crusades exerted a great influence. Italian cities like Venice, Pisa, and Genoa

State Barge of Venice.

grew rich through the transportation of pilgrims and crusaders and their supplies, and through the importation into Europe of the products of the East. In the north, such cities as Ratisbon, Nuremberg, and the market towns of northern France developed as distributing centers for the importations of Italy, and regular routes of inland commerce were established. Money became increasingly necessary; banks were established, and means of exchange devised. "It was . . . not simply during the Crusades," says the German historian Prutz, "but as a result of them, and of the commerce which they had called into being, that money became a power — we might almost say a world power."

(3) A multitude of new natural products and manufactures — such as sugar cane, buckwheat, rice, garlic, hemp; the orange, watermelon, lemon, lime, and apricot; dyestuffs, cottons, muslins, damask, satin, and velvet — were introduced from the East in the Middle Ages; but it is difficult to say which of these came as a result of the Crusades, and which from peaceful intercourse with Constantinople, Syria, northern Africa, and Spain.

(4) The political and social organization of Europe was already undergoing profound modification, and the Crusades helped on the change. Crusaders often freed their serfs to get money, or for the good of their souls. The wealth gained by townsmen in commerce enabled them to buy or wrest important rights of self-government from their lords. The feudal nobles, especially of France, were greatly weakened by the enormous waste of their numbers and resources in the East; and the lower classes and the crown were correspondingly strengthened. In Germany, where as a class the nobles would have nothing to do with the Crusades, they were neither impoverished nor reduced in numbers, nor was their military and political importance diminished; for this reason, among others, Germany was later than France in entering upon the path of social progress, industrial development, and real national unity.

(5) The most important influence of all was in the world of thought. The hundreds of thousands who made the journey to the Orient had their minds stimulated and their mental horizons broadened by beholding new lands, new peoples, and new customs. "They came from their castles and their villages," says a French writer, "having seen nothing, more ignorant than our peasants; they found themselves suddenly in great cities, in the midst of new countries, in the presence of unfamiliar usages." Thus the way was paved for the subtle change in intellectual atmos-

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 346

phere, beginning in the fourteenth century, which we style the Renaissance. This we may reckon the greatest though the most indefinite result of the whole crusading movement; but other factors, it must not be forgotten, were already working in the same direction.

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113. Summary

The conquests made by the crusaders in the Holy Land were organized as a feudal kingdom, of which the chief defense was the three crusading orders — the Knights Hospitaler, the Knights Templar, and the Teutonic Knights. The Second Crusade (1147–1149), occasioned by the fall of Edessa, was undertaken by Conrad III. of Germany and Louis VII. of France, and ended in failure. The Third Crusade (1189–1192), caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, was led by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Richard I. of England, and Philip Augustus of France; Acre was taken, but Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Mohammedans. The Fourth Crusade (1201–1204) was turned by the Venetians against Constantinople, and resulted in the establishing of the Latin Empire of the East, which lasted from 1204 to 1261. The Emperor Frederick II. led a crusade (1228–1229), which regained Jerusalem through treaty; but it was lost again in 1244. In 1248 Louis IX. of France led an unsuccessful crusade against Egypt; and in 1270 he led a second crusade against Tunis, equally without result. After 1291 the crusading movement to the East was at an end. Although the Crusades failed to recover permanently the Holy Land, they profoundly influenced Europe, especially through the wider outlook and the stimulus to thought which they supplied.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why were the Latin states in the East organized on a feudal model? (2) To what forces was the defense of Palestine left in

the intervals between the Crusades? (3) Why did the Second Crusade fail? (4) Compare the organization and leadership of the Third Crusade with that of the First. Why did it accomplish less? (5) Was the Fourth Crusade more of a religious or a political war? (6) Why were the later crusades directed against Egypt? (7) Why did the crusading movement come to an end when it did? (8) Did the Crusades on the whole do more good or more harm?

Search topics

(9) The life of a Knight Templar. (10) Saint Bernard as a preacher of the Second Crusade. (11) Relations of Christians and Mohammedans in Palestine. (12) Saladin. (13) The sect of the Assassins and the Old Man of the Mountain. (14) Richard the Lion-Hearted as a crusader. (15) The "Children's Crusade." (16) The Crusade of Frederick II. (17) The Crusade of Louis IX. to Egypt. (18) Effect of the Crusades on home realms and estates of crusaders.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPIRE AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNES (1125–1190)

We must now turn to the history of Germany and Italy in the period of the Crusades. The death of Henry V. — the last of the Franconian Emperors — in 1125 without a son gave opportunity for a free election for the first time in a century; and Lothair II. of Saxony was chosen king of Germany. "It is with good right," says a writer of that time, "that we call Lothair the father of his country, for he upheld it strenuously and was always ready to risk his life for justice's sake." "In his days," says another, "the service of God increased and there was plenty in all things." In 1133 Lothair led an expedition into Italy to settle a disputed election to the papacy, and was crowned Emperor. A second expedition to Italy three years later was successfully directed against the Norman, Roger II., who had united southern Italy to Sicily; but in the moment of victory the Pope and the Emperor quarreled over the suzerainty of the Norman territories. Lothair, who was upward of seventy years of age, died on his way back to Germany. Two years later, Roger made a peace with the papacy by which his assumption of the title King of Sicily was sanctioned, and he agreed to hold his kingdom as a papal fief.

114. Prelude to Hohenstaufen period (1125–1138)

Tout, Empire and Papacy, 225

On the death of Lothair without a son, Conrad, nephew of Henry V., was chosen king at an assembly in which the magnates of Franconia and Swabia alone were present. In

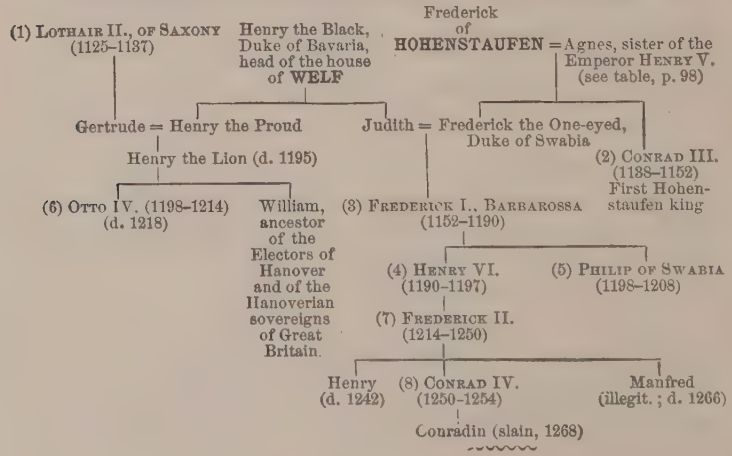
his person, the Hohenstaufen house, the most brilliant of all the imperial houses, mounted the throne, and for six reigns it guided the destinies of Germany and Italy (reigns 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 in table below).[1]

115. Guelf and Ghibelline

The candidate of the Saxons and Bavarians in 1138 was the head of the family of Welf, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria and Saxony and son-in-law of Lothair; he made himself the

RUINS OF HOHENSTAUFEN. (From an old print.)

[1] THE HOUSES OF WELF AND HOHENSTAUFEN IN GERMANY


(1) Lothair II., of Saxony (1125–1137)
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, head of the house of WELF
Frederick of HOHENSTAUFEN = Agnes, sister of the Emperor Henry V. (see table, p. 98)
Gertrude = Henry the Proud
Judith = Frederick the One-eyed, Duke of Swabia
Henry the Lion (d. 1195)
(2) Conrad III. (1138–1152) First Hohenstaufen king
(6) Otto IV. (1198–1214) (d. 1218)
William, ancestor of the Electors of Hanover and of the Hanoverian sovereigns of Great Britain.
(3) Frederick I., Barbarossa (1152–1190)
(4) Henry VI. (1190–1197)
(5) Philip of Swabia (1198–1208)
(7) Frederick II. (1214–1250)
Henry (d. 1242)
(8) Conrad IV. (1250–1254)
Manfred (illegit.; d. 1266)
Conradin (slain, 1268)

head of the North German opposition to the Hohenstaufen, and for three quarters of a century the kingdom was torn by the quarrels of these powerful families. Their rival cries, "Hi Welfen!" and "Hi Waiblingen!" (the latter from a little village of Swabia near the castle of Hohenstaufen), gave rise to new party names. Beginning as a struggle of rival families, the contest became a warfare of contending principles. In general, the Hohenstaufen party, or "Ghibellines" (corrupted from Waiblingen), stood for the principle of strong monarchical government and for imperial rule over Italy; whereas the "Guelf" (or Welf) party represented feudal opposition to the monarchy, and the independence of the Italian towns. It was impossible for the papacy to avoid taking sides; in Germany its influence was usually, and in Italy almost always, on the side of the Guelfs. "Broadly speaking, the Guelfs were papalists, the Ghibellines imperialists; the Ghibellines were the party who desired a strong government, the Guelfs the party who preferred particularism; the Ghibellines would bring in the German, the Guelfs would cry 'Italy for the Italians.'" But these larger issues were gradually lost sight of in the feuds of factions; and by the fifteenth century the names Guelf and Ghibelline lingered only in Italy, where they came to mean no more than party differences in the mode of building battlements, in wearing feathers in the cap, in cutting fruit at the table, in habits of yawning, passing in the street, throwing dice, gestures in speaking or swearing.

Fisher, Mediæval Empire, I. 331

A quarrel between Conrad III. and Henry the Proud began almost immediately through Conrad's attempt to deprive his Welf rival of his duchies. Dukedoms, like the office of count, though originally in the gift of the king, were fast becoming hereditary; this attack, therefore, produced civil war. In the midst of the struggle Henry the Proud died, leaving as his heir a ten-year-old son, later known as

116. Conrad III., first Hohenstaufen Emperor (1138–1152)

Henry the Lion; a compromise was then arranged by which the duchy of Saxony was restored to the house of Welf, but Bavaria was withheld.

The great event of Conrad's reign was the German expansion to the northeast, which in spite of anarchy and civil war went steadily on. It owed its success to the efforts of local rulers; especially was it indebted to a great religious leader, Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, the founder of a new order of clergy (the Premonstratensian canons), who took the leading part in Christianizing and civilizing the Slavs beyond the Elbe.

Modern historians maintain that it is impossible to establish the descent of the municipal governments of the Middle Ages from those of Roman times. In Italy, as elsewhere, the Germanic invasions left the ancient cities dismantled and reduced in population. Those who continued to dwell on the ancient sites were mere serfs, like the peasants of the surrounding country, and were governed by counts or (as in Lombardy) by bishops who held the powers of counts.

117. Italian communes

Nevertheless many elements of urban life, though not of municipal institutions, were preserved; these, with the privileges and immunities granted the count-bishops, and the advantages afforded for commerce and industry, led to an earlier revival of city life there than elsewhere. Walls were restored or newly erected, and in time city governments followed. The union of merchants and artisans in "guilds," for the control of commerce and of different trades or crafts, became a precedent for that larger union of the inhabitants which eventually wrested freedom and self-government from their rulers. Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the count-bishops of the Lombard cities lost their sovereign rights, which passed to the citizens. At the same time war was made upon neighboring barons, whose castles threatened the newly won independence of the towns; and the feudal nobility were forced to

throw in their lot with the municipalities, taking up their residence for part of every year within the city walls. Danger from without was thus reduced, but another danger followed: every city soon bristled with tall, battlemented towers, the strongholds of rival clans; and family, factional, and regional fights, the expression of hereditary hatreds, became alarmingly frequent.

In the communes of Lombardy there were three chief organs of government. The executive power in war and peace was in the hands of a board of "consuls," varying in number from eight to twenty, chosen for short terms, and paid out of the city treasury. As advisers and assistants to the consuls there were secret councils, without whose consent no important action could be taken. Behind these stood the general assembly (the *Parlamentum*) of all the men belonging to the commune; but this, in most cities, was convened only on extraordinary occasions.

These communal governments were free in the sense that they were practically exempt from external control; but their citizens were far from enjoying individual liberty. The member of a commune was bound to his town as closely as a serf to the soil; he belonged all his life to a certain class, to a trade, to a guild, to a parish, to a ward; and the details of his private life — such as the number of trees he might plant in his orchard, the number of priests and candles he might employ at funerals — were all precisely regulated.

118. Civil and canon law

With the growth of city life, and the discussions aroused by the investiture conflict, came the revival of the study of Roman or civil law. Until the twelfth century, the written law of Rome, though regarded with superstitious reverence, was imperfectly understood; now men awoke to the consciousness that in its precepts were principles applicable to the new conditions produced by the rise of city life. At Bologna, the fame of Irnerius, who began to lecture on the *Code* and

Institutes of Justinian about the year 1110, drew together a body of students which numbered ten thousand by the close of the century. "Of all the centuries," says a writer on the history of law, "the twelfth is the most legal. In no age since the classical days of Roman law has so large a part of the sum total of intellectual endeavor been devoted to jurisprudence. . . . From every corner of western Europe students flocked to Italy. It was as if a new gospel had been revealed. Before the end of the century complaints were loud that theology was neglected, that the liberal arts were despised, . . . that men would learn law and nothing but law."

Pollock and Maitland, English Law, I. 111

A powerful class of trained lawyers resulted from this study. One of the principles of Roman jurisprudence was that "the will of the prince has the force of law"; the lawyers, therefore, became valuable allies of Emperors and kings in their warfare against feudal and clerical opponents, and greatly aided in transforming the feudal sovereignties of the Middle Ages into the absolute monarchies of the seventeenth century.

Institutes, I. ii. 6

At the same time with the revival of the study of the civil law, the study of the church or canon law also received a powerful impetus, in part because of such contests as that over investiture, and in part from the preparation of a text-book on canon law called (from its author, a monk named Gratian) the *Decretum Gratiani*. The canon law was based on the teachings of Scripture and the Fathers, the decrees of church councils, and the decretals of Popes (not excepting the False Decretals, § 63). It became as elaborate and comprehensive a system as the civil law; and canon lawyers proved as zealous upholders of the papal claims as civil lawyers were of imperial prerogatives.

When the princes of Germany met, in 1152, to select a successor to Conrad III., they passed by his infant son and chose his nephew Frederick, in whose veins ran Welf as well

as Hohenstaufen blood (see genealogy on p. 146). This election, taken with the two preceding ones, established it as "the cardinal principle of the law of the Roman Empire," to use the language of a contemporary chronicler, "that the succession depends not upon hereditary right, but on the election of the princes." The German kingship was becoming definitely elective, while in France and England the crown was becoming definitely hereditary. This difference was due in large part to the fact that the German king, after his coronation by the Pope, was also Emperor, and the Popes never admitted that the imperial dignity was hereditary, or that the coronation as Emperor was to be considered a mere form. Papal influence, therefore, combined with the interest of the princes to keep up the custom of election.

119. Accession of Frederick Barbarossa (1152)

Otto of Freising

FREDERICK I.
Twelfth century sculpture on wall of a Bavarian monastery.

Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa (Redbeard), was in many respects the ideal Emperor of the Middle Ages. He combined the qualities of a skilled statesman and good general with the virtues of a crusader and hero of romance. His greatest ambition, as he wrote the Pope soon after his accession, was to restore the grandeur of the Roman Empire in all its ancient vigor and excellence. But unlike Otto III., Frederick was no dreamer; he sought to know his rights as Emperor, and he used practical means to enforce them: he has well been called an "imperialist Hildebrand." His

first task was to settle affairs north of the Alps so that he might be free to carry out his imperial ambitions in Italy. Bavaria was restored to his cousin Henry the Lion, while its dispossessed holder was given a new duchy, that of Austria (*Oesterreich*), formed from the old Ostmark of Bavaria.

Before these arrangements were completed, Frederick was called into Italy, where the ambition of the Norman king was causing trouble, and the Roman populace had rebelled against the Pope and set up a commune. The leading spirit at Rome was a visionary reformer named Arnold of Brescia — a man, Saint Bernard once wrote, "whose words are as honey, but whose doctrines are poison, whom Brescia cast forth, at whom Rome shuddered, whom France has banished, whom Germany will soon hold in abomination, whom Italy will not endure." From Lombardy also came complaints of the oppressions suffered by the smaller cities from their powerful neighbor Milan. Hastening over the Alps in 1154, Frederick taught the Italians, by the destruction of Tortona, one of Milan's allies, that the Emperor was still to be feared. At Pavia he assumed the iron crown of Italy, and soon after received the imperial crown at Rome from Pope Adrian IV., the only Englishman who ever filled the papal office. Rome was reduced to order, and Arnold of Brescia, who was handed over to the prefect of the city by Frederick, was hanged and his body burned.

120. First Italian expedition of Frederick I. (1154–1155)

Milman, Latin Christianity, IV. 238

Soon after Frederick's return from Italy, a quarrel broke out, which shows the difficulty of long preserving harmonious relations between papacy and empire. A legate of Adrian IV. delivered a letter to Frederick in which mention was made of the "benefits" (*beneficia*) conferred upon the Emperor by the Pope. When objection was made to the letter on the ground that the language used might bear the sense of a feudal "benefice" granted by a lord to a vassal, the legate added fuel to the fire by asking, "Of whom, then, does he hold the

empire but of our lord the Pope?" In a written declaration Frederick replied that "the empire is held by us, through the election of the princes, from God alone. . . . Whosoever says that we received the imperial crown from the lord Pope as a benefice, goes against the divine commandment and the teaching of Peter, and is guilty of falsehood." Subsequently the Pope explained that the word *beneficia* in his letter meant benefits and not fiefs; but the distrust aroused could not be allayed.

Matthews, Mediæval Documents, 83

From 1158 to 1162 Frederick was again in Italy, called thither by the ambitions of the Milanese. After a brief resistance, their city submitted. A great "diet," or meeting of imperial vassals and communes, was held in the plain of Roncaglia; and in order that the Emperor's prerogatives might be known for the future, all holders of rights of government and the like were required to show by what warrant they exercised them. With respect to the Lombard cities, it was announced that the Emperor's control was no longer to be merely nominal, but that their magistrates would be appointed by him with the assent of the people.

121. Second Italian expedition of Frederick I. (1158–1162)

Opposition to the execution of these decrees soon manifested itself. At Milan the attempt to set up a foreign magistrate in place of the elective consuls led to a new revolt, in which the citizens with heroic courage held out for three years. When at last famine forced them to yield, Frederick, "hardening his face like a rock," decreed the destruction of their city: the loudest complaints against Milan had come from its Italian enemies, and it was their hands which carried out the decree.

The successes of the Emperor in Lombardy aroused apprehensions at Rome. When Adrian IV. died, a majority of the cardinals chose as Pope, under the name of Alexander III. (1159–1181), that legate whose bold language had called forth Frederick's declaration concerning the imperial office; in ability and lofty ambition he proved a

122. Papacy and Lombard League (1159–1174)

worthy successor of the great Hildebrand. The minority of the cardinals elected an anti-pope favorable to the imperial cause. To the demand that the disputed election should be referred to a council of the whole church, Alexander replied, "No one has the right to judge me, since I am the supreme

THE LOMBARD LEAGUE (1167) AND THE TUSCAN LEAGUE (1196).

judge of all the world." Frederick supported his anti-pope, and in 1165 swore never to acknowledge Alexander III. or any Pope elected by his party; but by France, England, and the rest of Western Christendom Alexander was recognized.

After four years of exile in France, Alexander returned to Rome, in 1165, only to be driven forth two years later by a

force which Frederick led over the Alps. The Lombard communes then united in a league against the Emperor; and the very cities which had demanded the destruction of Milan now lent aid to rebuild and refortify it. Within a few months the chief towns of the plain of the Po, from Milan to Venice, from Bergamo to Bologna, were formed into a confederation pledged to mutual assistance. Alexander sent his blessing to the confederates, and they in turn supported his cause; and a new city, founded to guard the descent into Italy by the western passes, was named Alessandria in his honor. Out of hatred to Germany, Italy seemed about to arrive at a consciousness of national unity.

For six years Italy enjoyed practical independence. In Germany, Frederick found increasing difficulty in keeping the clergy true to his anti-pope; while the growing power of Henry the Lion in the north threatened trouble. Not until 1174 was the Emperor able to lead another expedition into Italy. In 1176 came the decisive battle, when the imperial army, numbering six thousand, encountered the eight thousand troops of the Lombard League at Legnano, not far from Milan. At first the mail-clad German horsemen carried all before them; but the guard about the Milanese *carroccio*, a war chariot bearing an altar and the banners of the confederated towns, fought desperately, and the Emperor himself was at length unhorsed.

123. Defeat of Frederick I. at Legnano (1176)

MAIL-CLAD GERMAN HORSEMAN.
From a 12th century MS.

The imperial forces fled, and it was only with difficulty and almost unattended that Frederick reached Pavia. "Glorious has been our triumph," wrote the Milanese to Bologna, "infinite the number of the killed among the enemy, the drowned, the prisoners. We have in our hands the shield, the banner, cross, and lance of the Emperor, and we found silver and gold in his coffers, and booty of inestimable value; but we do not consider these things ours, but the common property of the Pope and the Italians."

Frederick was now forced to make peace with the Pope, with the communes, and with the Norman king, who had supported their cause. At Venice, in 1177, he acknowledged Alexander as Pope, and prostrated himself at his feet: it was just one hundred years since Henry IV. humbled himself before Gregory VII. at Canossa. The final peace with the communes was not concluded until 1183, at Constance, when their rights to elect their own officers, to build fortifications, to enter into leagues, to raise troops, and to coin money were clearly recognized. Thenceforth the cities of Lombardy were practically self-governing republics, the barest overlordship remaining to the Emperor. Under these new conditions their commerce flourished more and more; but their political life, under the overstimulus of freedom, broke out incessantly into quarrels and riots. In many respects the mediæval communes fell short of our ideas of orderly liberty and political justice; but it was amid the busy, turbulent life within their walls that the Renaissance spirit was developed.

124. Treaties of Venice (1177) and Constance (1183)

While Frederick was pursuing the shadow of power in Italy, Henry the Lion was seizing its substance in Germany. After his restoration to the duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, his calculating leadership raised the power of his family to a yet higher point by conquering the Slavic lands between the Elbe and the Oder. Lübeck, the first German town to arise on the Baltic Sea, and Munich, the present capital of

125. Fall of the house of Welf (1180)

Bavaria, owe their existence largely to him. The Emperor long pursued a conciliatory policy toward his formidable rival, and assisted him when his Saxon vassals rebelled; but the refusal of Henry to aid the Emperor in Italy caused Frederick to abandon his policy of conciliation. Henry was cited to appear at different diets to answer charges preferred by nobles and clergy under him; and after his fourth citation and failure to appear, he was condemned by default, and sentenced to banishment and the forfeiture of his lands. The support given the Emperor by the lesser nobles made the execution of this sentence easy, and for some years Henry the Lion was forced to live in exile in Normandy and England. Ultimately he regained his allodial estates (§ 33), and these became the nucleus of the later duchy of Brunswick and electorate of Hanover, from which Great Britain in 1714 derived its present line of kings.

The vacant Saxon duchy (shorn of its western half) was given to a member of the Ascanian house, and the name "Saxony" shifted somewhat to the south and east of its old location. Bavaria was bestowed on Otto of Wittelsbach, in whose house it still remains; but it, too, was weakened by the separation of important districts. These changes marked the end of the "stem-duchy" system of territorial organization, and the beginning of that policy of division and subdivision which by the end of the Middle Ages made Germany a chaos of petty principalities and lordships. Actually the benefit of the downfall of Henry the Lion went to the local nobility who supplied the force by which it was carried out.

Frederick's reign constitutes one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of mediæval Germany. The rural districts advanced in prosperity; forests were cleared, land increased in value, and agriculture was improved. The condition of the peasants, both serfs and free tenants, was materially bettered. The turbulent life of the nobles was somewhat softened and refined, as a result of the intimate connections

126. German cities and civilization

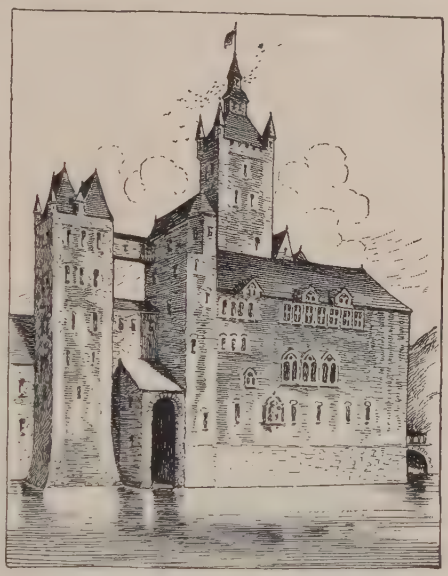
with Italy and Burgundy, and of the Crusades. A courtly German literature was born in the chivalric lays of the "Minnesingers," at the same time that the old heroic songs of the people were consolidated into the great German epic styled the *Niebelungenlied.*

A stimulus was also given at this time to the growth of city life in Germany. At the beginning of the tenth century there was little German commerce; but gradually fairs and markets were founded at favored places, trade arose, and centers of population sprang up, especially in the Rhine and Danube valleys. Thus localities formerly inhabited only by peasants were transformed into towns, with walls and ramparts, weekly markets, guilds and other associations, and some rights and privileges against their feudal lords. The continued struggle of lay and ecclesiastical powers, together with the Crusades, helped on their development. Strassburg, on the middle Rhine, whose original constitution is considered to be the earliest municipal code of Germany, may be taken as a type of the most important German towns of the twelfth century. The population was probably less than ten thousand. The houses were of timber, with thatched roofs, and without chimneys, which were rare as yet even in castles. Here and there churches were interspersed, but no mighty cathedral dominated the landscape. The whole of this "water-bound plexus of walls, moats, houses, streets, gardens, and plowed fields" was under the feudal rule of the bishop, to whom the citizens owed many services and dues. Under Frederick Barbarossa the towns grew in population, wealth, privileges, and power; but the time was not yet come when they, like the cities of Italy, should be practically self-governing republics.

127. Last years of Frederick I. (1184–1190)

The last years of Frederick's reign were taken up with new Italian plans, with renewed quarrels with the papacy, and with the Third Crusade. Constance, the heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and Naples, was married to

Frederick's son and successor, Henry VI. This aroused the fierce hostility of the papacy, for the union of southern Italy with Germany threatened the independence of the Papal States. The final conflict to which this led was deferred till the reign of Frederick's grandson; but even at this time the relations of Pope and Emperor were strained almost to breaking. The fall of Jerusalem before the attacks of Saladin, in 1187, was the chief factor in preventing an open rupture. For the second time Frederick took the cross and departed for the East, where he died, as has already been related (§ 104). Later ages, looking back to the splendors of his reign, feigned to believe that he was not dead, and applied to him the legend of another Frederick, now identified as a count of Thuringia: the vanished ruler, it was said, was sleeping through the ages in a rocky cavern of a German mountain; when the ravens ceased to fly about its summit, he would awaken and would then return to chastise evil doers and bring back the golden age.



CHATEAU OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA AT KAISERSWERTH.
A restoration.

Under Frederick Barbarossa, the second of the Hohenstaufen line, the mediæval empire attained its greatest glory. In

Germany the monarchy triumphed over the house of Welf and divided its feudal territories among the lesser nobles. In Italy the imperial control was for a time successfully asserted; but the strength of the confederated Lombard towns, and the hostility of the Popes, at length obliged the Emperor to renounce his rights. A marriage with the heiress of Sicily and Naples sowed the seeds of a new quarrel between papacy and empire. Frederick's reign closed with the Third Crusade, in which the Emperor lost his life. Other features of the period are the development of the civil and canon law, the growth of Italian and German towns, the continued expansion of Germany to the northeast, and the progress of German civilization.

128. Summary

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) On what historical grounds might the Pope claim that the Emperor was his vassal for the imperial crown? (2) Why should the Popes oppose the development of a strong kingdom in southern Italy? (3) Was a Ghibelline or Guelf policy best for Germany? For Italy? (4) Which was of more importance, the imperial attempts to control Italy or the quiet expansion of Germany to the northeast? (5) Compare the Italian communes with the New England towns. What powers did the former exercise that the latter lack? (6) How did the study of Roman law aid monarchical growth? Was this to be desired? (7) Had Frederick I. or the Italian communes the more right in their struggle?

Search topics

(8) The Italian communes. (9) Revival of the Roman law. (10) The canon law. (11) Arnold of Brescia. (12) Pope Alexander III. (13) Henry the Lion. (14) Rise of the German cities. (15) The *Niebelungenlied*. (16) The Minnesingers. (17) Personality of Frederick Barbarossa. (18) Home of the Hohenstaufen in Germany. (19) Reasons for the greatness of Milan.

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A Mediæval Fair. (Depicted by Parmentier.)

CHAPTER X.

END OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPIRE (1190–1268)

HENRY VI., son of Frederick I., proved as ambitious and energetic as his father. He secured possession of his wife's Italian inheritance and united it to Germany. A rising of the Welf faction was overcome, largely through the fortunate accident which put into his power Richard I. of England, the ally of the Welfs (§ 105). He proposed to the German princes that they should declare the throne hereditary, in return for concessions to them, and almost gained their consent. Finally he planned a crusade which was expected to put the whole Latin East under his control, and make him overlord of the Greek Empire. Had he lived, he might for a time have established a world monarchy which would have realized the dreams of the Middle Ages; but he died of fever in 1197, on the eve of his departure for the East, leaving as heir a son (Frederick of Sicily) only three years of age.

129. Henry VI. (1190–1197)

All Germany, after Henry's death, "was like a sea lashed by every wind." The partisans of the Hohenstaufen chose Henry's brother, Philip of Swabia, as king; but the opposing party selected Otto IV. of Brunswick, a son of Henry the Lion. Ten years of civil warfare followed, in which the advantage rested now with one party, now with the other.

During the division within the empire the papacy grew in power. Innocent III. (1198–1216) was in many respects the ablest and most powerful Pope of the Middle Ages. He firmly established the Papal States in Italy; and had as vassal kingdoms under him Sicily and Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Aragon, and Poland. Even the king of

130. Innocent III. and the empire (1198–1216)

England (John) was forced to surrender his kingdom into the hands of the Pope's legate, and receive it back as a fief of the papacy (§ 166). The papal suzerainty over the empire, which Frederick Barbarossa so vigorously denied, was again asserted, and Innocent claimed the right to decide the dispute which had arisen over the last imperial election. His decision was that Philip was unworthy as "an obstinate persecutor of the church, and the representative of a hostile house"; while Otto, though chosen by a minority, was "himself devoted to the church, of a race devoted to the church . . .: him, therefore, we proclaim, acknowledge as king; him then we summon to take on himself the imperial crown." Otto, in return, confirmed in their widest extent the possessions and privileges claimed by the Roman Church.

Milman, Latin Christianity, IV. 510–514

After Philip's murder by a private enemy (1208), Otto was for a time universally recognized, and was crowned Emperor. Soon he laid claim to unwarranted rights in Italy, and defied the Pope's excommunication. In Germany a diet of princes declared him deposed; and at their invitation, and with the aid of Innocent III., Frederick of Sicily (son of Henry VI.), now seventeen years old, crossed the Alps to claim the German throne as Frederick II. About him gathered all the old partisans of the house of Hohenstaufen, and with them acted Philip Augustus of France, who had his own interests to further. Otto similarly was supported with men and money from his uncle, John of England. The decisive battle took place at Bouvines, in northern France, in July, 1214. The issue involved not merely the possession of the imperial crown, but the French occupation of Normandy and other English fiefs in France, and the cause of English liberty against the tyranny of King John (§ 166); thus the day of Bouvines has well been called "the greatest single day in the history of the Middle Ages." It ended in victory for France and the partisans of Frederick II., to whom passed the German and imperial crowns.

Frederick II. was already beginning to show the qualities which won for him the name "the wonder of the world."

131. Accession of Frederick II. (1214)

From contact with his Greek and Saracen subjects in Sicily he gained a culture unknown in the North; but he also developed a toleration, if not indifference, in religion, and a looseness of personal morality, which gave his enemies openings for attack. He was an impassioned poet, a profound lawgiver, and a subtle politician; the spirit which he displayed indeed was more modern than mediæval.

Frederick was reared as a ward of Innocent III., to whom he had been committed by his mother Constance; but the intimate relations thus established did not prevent a desperate struggle between papacy and empire. Before his coronation by the Pope in 1220, he solemnly swore to abolish all laws prejudicial to the liberties of the church, to cede Sicily to his son Henry to be held as a fief of the Holy See and not of the empire, to restore to the papacy the inheritance of the Countess Matilda, and to undertake a new crusade. These promises were broken almost as soon as made.

132. Frederick II. and the papacy (1225–1239)

For a time Frederick could urge the pressure of German and Italian affairs as excuse for delaying his crusade. In 1227 he assembled an army and embarked, but turned back because (as he alleged) of a pestilence which broke out on shipboard. Pope Gregory IX. refused to listen to his excuses, and excommunicated him. In June of the next year, Frederick again set sail, without receiving the papal absolution, and reached the Holy Land; but there the Pope put every obstacle in his way, on the ground that he was an excommunicated person.

Taking advantage of a civil war which broke out among the successors of Saladin, Frederick negotiated a treaty which secured to the Christians a truce for ten years with the possession of Jerusalem. This politic move, though bitterly denounced by the partisans of the Pope, secured greater advan-

tages than had been won by forty years of blind, unreasoning warfare. But when Frederick, still excommunicated, placed the crown of Jerusalem upon his head, the patriarch of Jerusalem issued an interdict forbidding all religious services in the holy places. After his return to Italy Frederick made peace with the Pope (1230); but in 1239 the struggle was renewed and was again extended to the Holy Land; and the hostility between the papal party and Frederick's agents was partly responsible for the final loss of Jerusalem in 1244 (§ 110).

133. Policy of Frederick II. (1230–1240)

The interval between 1230 and 1239 was used by Frederick II. to carry through a remarkable series of reforms which made Sicily for a time the strongest and best governed kingdom in Europe. In judicial matters the king's courts were put above the feudal and ecclesiastical tribunals. The nobles and clergy, along with the townsmen, were subjected to taxation. Unauthorized castles, the right of private warfare, trials by ordeal, and serfdom on the royal domains were abolished. Education was fostered by establishing the University of Naples, and favor was shown to trade and industry. Of these measures an English historian says, "The world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appeared to be arising, an epoch to be commencing in human civilization."

Milman, Latin Christianity, V. 398

For some years the crusade and these reforms kept Frederick south of the Alps, while his eldest son Henry, who in 1220 had been elected "king of the Romans" (*i.e.* German king elect), ruled Germany in his father's name. In 1234 the young king rebelled against his father, and Frederick went to Germany, where the rising was easily put down; thenceforth Henry's younger brother Conrad takes his place in the succession.

Frederick's attention throughout his reign was given more to his Italian possessions than to the North, and the policy which he pursued in Germany was directly opposed to that

embodied in his Sicilian reforms. In Germany, as a result of necessity, he "threw to the winds every national and monarchical tradition," and granted privileges to the nobles and great churchmen by which they became truly "lords" of their lands, possessed of all rights and jurisdictions. On the other hand, Frederick gave large privileges to the towns, seeking in them a support against the papacy and rebellious nobles. The net result of his policy was the enfeeblement of all central authority: Germany more and more ceased to be a state, such as England and France were becoming, and grew into a confederation of sovereign principalities.

134. Renewed struggle with the papacy (1239–1245)

Frederick's Sicilian reforms made him, in the eyes of the Pope, an oppressor of the clergy; his immoral private life increased the friction with the church; the toleration which he showed his Mohammedan subjects, and his use of them as troops in his wars, caused him to be suspected as a heretic; and his retention of Sicily and Naples, along with Germany and northern Italy, enabled him to hem in the Papal States both on the north and on the south. These causes for conflict led in 1239 to an open rupture with the Pope; and there began the last stage of the fatal struggle of papacy and empire, which brought political ruin to both powers. Gregory IX. renewed his excommunication, and absolved Frederick's subjects from their allegiance. Both Pope and Emperor appealed to Europe in letters of impassioned denunciation. Gregory called a church council to be held at Rome, but Frederick prevented its assembling by capturing the fleet carrying most of its members. Gregory died in 1241, and two years later one of Frederick's friends (Innocent IV.) was elected Pope. On hearing the news the Emperor is said to have exclaimed, "I have lost a good friend, for no Pope can be a Ghibelline." Innocent vigorously continued the policy of his predecessor. At this time came a horde of Mongols from Asia, who overran Poland and

Hungary, threatened Germany, and established a power in Russia (1240) which lasted for two hundred and forty years. In 1244 came the final downfall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In spite of these disasters to Christendom, the struggle between papacy and empire continued as fiercely as ever. At a church council held at Lyons in 1245, Frederick was pronounced guilty of perjury, heresy, and sacrilege; he was declared deposed, and war against the Hohenstaufen was turned into a crusade, with the same spiritual rewards as for warring against the Saracens.

135. Defeat and death of Frederick II. (1241–1250)

In Germany, Frederick's enemies stirred up a revolt, and elected an anti-king, but his son Conrad managed to hold many of the nobles and most of the cities true to their allegiance. In Italy, Frederick maintained himself with success, though Guelfs and Ghibellines fought each other with furious hatè on every hand. But after a time misfortunes came upon him. His camp was captured; then his favorite son Enzio was taken captive and imprisoned. Frederick's cause was even yet far from hopeless when, in December, 1250, he was attacked by a disease from which, after a short illness, he died. An English writer of that time called him "the greatest prince of the world"; but his powers were lost on an age not ripe for them.

136. Fall of the Hohenstaufens (1250–1268)

After Frederick's death his reforms were overthrown, and his empire crumbled away in the hands of his successors. His son Conrad IV. (1250–1254) was obliged to abandon Germany to secure his inheritance in Italy; and for twenty years Germany was given up to the anarchy of the Great Interregnum, during which robber barons ruled by "the law of the fist," and no king was universally recognized. In Italy, Conrad maintained himself until his death in 1254. A half-brother, Manfred, then continued the struggle until he fell in battle at Benevento in 1266. There still remained Conradin ("Little Conrad"), the fifteen-year-old son of Conrad IV.,

about whom centered the last desperate resistance of the Hohenstaufen party. To secure aid in the struggle, the Pope offered the kingdom of Sicily to an English prince; then, in 1265, he concluded a treaty by which Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king, was to have the Sicilian crown. In 1268, Charles met and defeated the little army which Conradin brought into Italy; and when the young king fell into the hands of his enemy, he was cruelly beheaded. In his person perished the last member of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen.

CHARLES OF ANJOU INVESTED WITH THE CROWN OF THE TWO SICILIES BY A BULL GIVEN BY THE POPE (CLEMENT IV.).

Fresco pictured in Viollet-le-Duc.

"From whatever point we may view it," says a French historian, "the death of Frederick II. and the fall of the house of Hohenstaufen mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. The Middle Age proper, in the form which it had worn since the days of Charlemagne, was now at an end. This is as true in the history of thought and the arts as it is in political history. In the course of the long struggle between church and empire, a new society had been formed, with different features and a spirit that was wanting to the old. From Charlemagne to

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 231

Frederick II. the papacy and the empire occupy the first place in the history of the time; but now the papacy had crushed the empire." The old ideal of two powers divinely commissioned to rule the world in conjunction — the ideal expressed in the figures of the "two swords," and of the "two lights," — the sun and the moon — was now abandoned. The papacy itself for a time sought to be the supreme head in temporal affairs as well as in spiritual, and this ideal conception was soon embodied in the person of a Pope (Boniface VIII.) who arrayed himself in the papal tiara and the imperial robe, and exclaimed, "I am Cæsar — I am Emperor!" But, though the empire had fallen, the national monarchies of Europe were just arising; and with Philip IV. of France, the head of the most formidable of these, the papacy soon came into disastrous collision.

Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, 109

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137. Summary

The brilliancy of the Hohenstaufen Empire was continued in the short reign of Henry VI. (1190–1197); then followed a struggle for the crown, which ended in the triumph of his son Frederick II. (1214–1250). The first sixteen years of his reign saw a new contest with the papacy, which centered in Frederick's crusade. Following this came, in Sicily and Naples, a series of important reforms which strengthened the royal power, while in Germany concessions were made to the princes which materially increased their power and weakened the crown. The last ten years of the reign were occupied with a new struggle with the papacy. After Frederick's death the Pope refused to recognize any of the Hohenstaufen house, and the struggle was continued by Conrad IV., Manfred, and finally by Conradin. The aid of a French prince, Charles of Anjou, enabled the Pope to overthrow the last of the Hohenstaufen family. Charles of Anjou secured the kingdom of Sicily and Naples; but Germany, during the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), was practically without a king. The papacy

was left victorious over the empire, which never recovered the importance it had possessed under the Hohenstaufen rule.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Compare the papal power under Innocent III. with that under Gregory VII. (2) Why should Frederick's treaty with the Mohammedans in the Holy Land of itself arouse opposition? (3) How do his measures in Sicily show him to have been ahead of his time? (4) Was the enfeeblement of the central authority in Germany good or bad for that land? (5) Why was the opposition of the Popes to Frederick II. greater than to Frederick I.? (6) Was the continuance of the papal warfare against Frederick's descendants after his death warranted? (7) State in your own language the significance of the overthrow of the Hohenstaufen.

Search topics

(8) Treatment of Richard I. of England by Henry VI. (9) Character and aims of Innocent III. (10) Character of Frederick II. (11) Crusade of Frederick II. (12) Reforms of Frederick II. in Sicily. (13) Development of Germany in his reign. (14) Account of a battle in the time of Frederick II. (15) Frederick's use of Saracen mercenaries.

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CHAPTER XI.

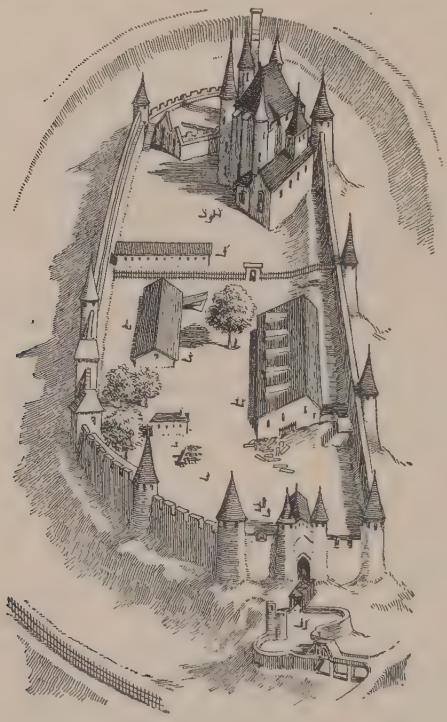
LIFE IN THE MEDIÆVAL CASTLE, VILLAGE, AND TOWN

In the Middle Ages almost every defensible hilltop and river island was occupied by the frowning castle of some feudal lord. At first the castle was a mere inclosure defended by ditch and palisade, with a sort of wooden blockhouse on a natural or artificial mound at the center, reached by a wooden bridge over a second ditch or moat. The ease with which such defenses could be destroyed by fire led, in the eleventh century, to the building of castles of stone; and the engineering skill of the Normans, together with the experience gained in the Crusades, made these structures intricate and complex. The chateau of Arques, built in Normandy, about 1040, by the uncle of William the Conqueror, is a type of the early stone castle. It was built upon a hilltop; was defended by a palisade, ditch, and two drawbridges with outer works; and was surrounded by a thick "bailey" wall, with battlements, strengthened by strong towers placed at intervals. Entrance was gained through a narrow vaulted gateway, placed between two towers and defended by doors and "portcullises," or iron gratings descending from above. The inclosure was divided into an "outer ward" and an "inner ward"; it contained separate buildings for stables, kitchen, and the like, and was large enough to shelter the surrounding population in time of war. At the extremity of the inner ward stood the "donjon," or "keep," the most important part of every castle.

138. The feudal castle

The donjon was often the residence of the feudal lord, though its gloom and cold usually led to the erection of a separate "hall" within the inclosure for residence in time of

peace. The donjon of Arques was a triumph of complicated defenses, consisting of enormous walls eight to ten feet thick, with winding passageways and stairs concealed in them, and cunningly devised pitfalls to trap the unwary. Here the last defense was made; and in case of defeat the position of the keep at one end of the inclosure aided escape through a postern gate directly opposite the entrance.



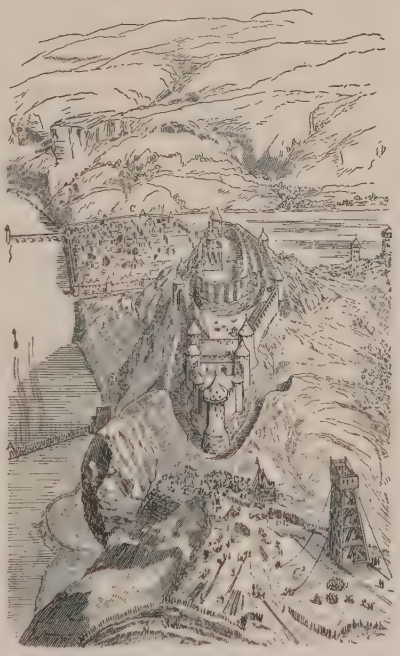
CHATEAU OF ARQUES.
Restoration of Viollet-le-Duc.

Of more elaborate type than the chateau of Arques was the Chateau Gaillard (Saucy Castle), erected on the borders of Normandy by Richard the Lion-Hearted as a defense against Philip Augustus of France (p. 173).

Hurling engines, movable towers, and battering rams were of little avail against such formidable castles, and until the introduction of gunpowder they were usually taken only by treachery, surprise, starvation, or undermining the walls. As the power of the kings increased, especially in France and England, the right of the nobles to erect castles was rigidly restricted; luxury, too, came in, and gradually the castle lost its character of a fortress and became merely a lordly dwelling place.

The training of the feudal noble, like his habitation, was all for war; but the church gave to it a religious consecration, and Chivalry, or the ideals and usages of knighthood, was the result. In his earlier years the young noble was left to the care of his mother; at about the age of seven he was sent to the castle of his father's lord, or to that of some famous knight, and his training for knighthood began. With other lads he served his lord and mistress as page, waited at table, and attended them when they rode forth to the chase; from them he learned lessons of honor and bravery, of love and courtesy; above all he learned how to ride and handle a horse. When he was a well-grown lad of fourteen or fifteen, he became a squire. He now looked after the grooming and shoeing of his lord's horses, and saw that his lord's arms were kept bright and free from rust. In war the squire accompanied the lord, carried his shield and lance, assisted in arming him for the battle, and stayed watchfully at hand to aid him in case of need.

139. Chivalry



CHATEAU GAILLARD.
Restoration of Viollet-le-Duc.

When he reached the age of twenty or twenty-one, and had proved his courage and military skill, the squire was made a knight. The ceremony was often quite elaborate. First came

a bath — the mark of purification. Then the candidate put on garments of red, white, and black — red for the blood he must shed in defense of the church, white to image the purity of his mind, and black as a reminder of death. All night before the altar of the church he watched his arms, with fasting and prayer; with the morning came confession, the holy mass, and a sermon on the proud duties of a knight. The actual knighting usually took place in the courtyard of the castle, in the presence of a numerous company of knights and ladies. The armor and sword were fastened on by friends and relatives; and the lord gave the "accolade" with a blow of his fist upon the young man's neck, or by touching him with the flat of his sword on the shoulder, saying: "In the name of God, and Saint Michael, and Saint George, I dub thee knight! Be brave and loyal!" Then followed exhibitions of skill by the new-made knight, feasting, and presents. The details of the ceremony varied in different times and places. It must also be said that, in practice, chivalry was too often only a "picturesque mimicry of high sentiment, of heroism, of love and courtesy, before which all depth and reality of nobleness disappeared to make room for the coarsest profligacy, the narrowest caste spirit, and a brutal indifference to human suffering."

Green, Short History of the English People, ch. iv. § 3

140. Daily life of the nobles

The thick walls and narrow windows of the feudal castle made its apartments cold and dark in winter and close in summer, and life was spent as much as possible in the open air. War, tournaments, and the chase were the chief outdoor amusements. Falconry — the flying of trained hawks at small game — became a complicated science, with many technical terms, and was practiced with zest by ladies and lords alike; but the chase, with hounds, of deer, wild boars, and bears, was the more exciting sport. Within doors the chief amusements were chess, checkers, and backgammon.

The great hall, whether within the donjon or in a separate

building, was the center of this life. About the great fireplace, master, mistress, children, and dependents gathered to play games, listen to tales of travel and adventure from chance visitors, and carry on household occupations. While the boys were trained to be knights, the girls learned to spin, sew, and embroider, to care for wounds, and to direct a household; like their brothers, they were often sent away from home for a time, and as maids of honor to some noble lady received the finishing touches of their education.

The furniture of the castles was substantial but scanty. Embroidered tapestries hung amid the weapons on the walls, and skins were placed underfoot for the sake of warmth. Chairs and benches, tables, chests, and wardrobes stood about the hall, and perhaps also the great corded bedstead of the master and mistress, with its canopy, curtains, and feather bed; but often these occupied a separate chamber. The men servants and attendants slept on the floor of the great hall.

141. Food of the nobles

The meals were served in the hall, on easily removable trestle tables, and all except those actively engaged at the time took their places at the board according to rank. The viands were brought, in covered dishes, across the court from the kitchen, which was a separate building. Jugs and vessels of curious shapes, often in imitation of animals, were scattered about the table. Before each person was placed a knife and spoon, and a drinking cup, often of wood or horn. Forks were unknown until the end of the thirteenth century, and food was eaten from a common dish with the fingers. Before and after each meal, pages brought basins of water with towels for washing the hands. There were no napkins; and pieces of bread, or the tablecloth, were used for cleansing the fingers during the meal. Dinner, served at midday, was announced by the blowing of horns; it was a long and substantial repast, consisting often of as many as ten

or twelve courses, mostly meats and game. Dressed deer, pigs, and other animals were roasted whole on spits before an open fire. Roast swans, peacocks, and boars' heads are frequently mentioned in mediæval writings; pasties of venison and other game were common; and on festal occasions live birds were sometimes placed in a pie to be released "when the pie was opened," and hunted down with falcons in the hall at the close of the feast. Wine was drunk in great quantities. Pepper, cloves, ginger, and other spices were used by the wealthy in both food and drink, even the wines being peppered and honeyed. Coffee, tea, and of course all the native products of America (tobacco, Indian corn, potatoes, etc.) were unknown.

142. Costume of the nobles

Costumes varied with time and place, as also did armor (see § 39). Long pointed shoes, called *pignaces*, were invented by a count of Anjou to hide the deformity of his feet, and within a short time the style spread over Europe.

Dress of the Carolingian pattern was used until the end of the eleventh century, when it was displaced by long garments imitated from those worn by the Byzantines; these were abandoned in the thirteenth century for other fashions.

The secrets of dyeing were long in the hands of the Jews; but in the thirteenth century the Italians learned the art, and the dyers then formed one of the most important guilds in Florence and other cities. Many dyestuffs were introduced into the West at the time of the Crusades; but cochineal, which gives a brilliant red, was not known until the discovery of Mexico, and the aniline dyes now largely used date from recent years. It is not too much to say that the most brilliantly tinted garments of the Middle Ages were poor and dull in hue compared with those now within reach of the poorest person.

143. Life of the peasants

Writers of the Middle Ages said that God had created three classes — priests to pray, knights to defend society, and peasants whose duty it was to till the soil and support by their labor the other classes. The peasants were divided

into serfs and villeins. (1) The serfs were personally unfree, *i.e.* they were "bound to the soil," and owed many special obligations to their lord; but, unlike slaves, they possessed plots of land which they tilled, and could not be sold off the estate. (2) The villeins were personally free, and were exempt from the most grievous burdens of the serf; but they too owed their lords many menial services and dues for their land, which took the form of money payments, and gifts of eggs, poultry, and the young of their flocks. The grinding of the peasants' meal, baking of their bread, pressing of their wine, oil, and cider, all had to be done with the lord's mill, oven, and press; and for the use of these, heavy fees were charged. The services consisted chiefly in cultivating the "demesne," or that part of the estate which was kept in the lord's own hand, and from which he drew the profits; two or three days' work a week, with extra work at harvest and other times of need, was the usual amount exacted. In course of time the services were precisely fixed or commuted for money payments.

The peasants dwelt in villages, often at the foot of the hill on which stood the lord's manor house or castle. Near by was the parish church, with an open space in front and a graveyard attached. The peasants' houses usually consisted of but one room, and were flimsy structures of wood, or of wattled sticks plastered with mud, and were thatched with straw. There were few windows, no floors, and no chimneys; the door was often made in two parts so that the upper portion could be opened to permit the smoke to escape. The cattle were housed under the same roof with the family. The streets were unpaved, and were often impassable with filth. About each house was a small, ill-tended garden.

The lands from which the villagers drew their living lay about the village in several great unfenced or "open" fields, normally three. Besides these, there were "common" lands to which each villager sent a certain number of cattle or sheep

for pasturage; and the lord's woodland and waste, to which they went for fuel, and in which they might turn a limited number of pigs to feed on the mast (acorns and nuts). The rights of hunting and fishing belonged to the lord, and were jealously guarded.

PLAN OF A VILLAGE WITH OPEN FIELDS.

From a plan of the Common Field of Burton-Agnes, Yorkshire, England, in Taylor's *Domesday Studies*. The shaded strips, about one tenth of the whole, were the parson's share, or glebe.

144. Mediæval agriculture

The time not taken up with labors on the lord's demesne was used by the peasant in tilling his own small holding, in the open fields about the village. A full villein holding usually consisted of about thirty acres, scattered in long narrow strips in the different fields, intermixed with the holdings of other tenants. The origin of this curious arrangement of intermixed holdings in open fields has never been satisfactorily explained; but it existed over the greater part of western Europe, and lasted far down into modern times. The different strips were separated from one another by "balks" of unplowed turf. The plows were clumsy wooden affairs, which penetrated little below the surface. They were drawn by teams of from four to eight oxen; but the cattle of the Middle Ages were smaller than those produced by scientific breeding to-day.

A rude rotation of crops was practiced to avoid exhausting the soil. All the strips in a given field were planted with a winter grain (wheat) one year, the next year with a spring grain (oats), and the third year were plowed and lay fallow;

thus one third of the land was always resting. Under this primitive system of agriculture the yield was far less than now: in England, at the close of the thirteenth century, wheat yielded as low as six bushels an acre, and nine or ten bushels was probably a full average crop.

PEASANTS AND PLOW.
From a 13th century manuscript.

Bee keeping was more usual than in modern times, not only for the honey, which was used instead of sugar for almost all purposes of sweetening, but also for the wax needed to make the tall candles in the churches and the seals used on official documents. Every great estate, or "manor" as it was called in England, was self-supporting to a surprising extent. Ale was home-brewed; wool was spun and cloth woven in the household; and the village tanner, blacksmith, and carpenter performed the services beyond the powers of the household circle. For salt, and the rare articles that the village did not itself produce, the people of the manor resorted to periodical markets and fairs in neighboring towns.

The labor of the peasant was incessant, his food, clothing, and habitation of the rudest and poorest. He was ignorant and superstitious, and his oppression made him sullen. He was the butt for the wit of the noble classes and the courtly poets, and the name "villain" (villein) has been handed down by them to us as the synonym for all that is base.

The early history of the towns of Italy and Germany has already been traced (§§ 117, 126); those of France — which may be taken as typical of the life of the Middle Ages — arose in similar manner. There, as elsewhere, the barbarian invasions, together with the rise of feudalism, overthrew the old Roman municipalities and reduced the population to serfdom. In the eleventh century movements began which restored personal freedom to the populations of the towns, and gave them more or less of the rights of self-government; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries charters were purchased from the feudal lords, or extorted by successful war. The privileges set forth in these ranged from mere safeguards against oppression at the hands of the lord's officials, who still composed the only municipal government, to grants of administrative and judicial independence with a government chosen by the citizens.

145. Towns in France

For example, the charter granted the little town of Lorris, in central France, was of the former class. It provided (1) that no townsman should pay more than a small quitrent for his house and each acre of land, and should pay no toll on grain and wine of his own production, nor on his purchases at the Wednesday market; (2) that he should not be obliged to go to war for his lord unless he could return the same day; (3) that he should not be forced to go outside the town for the trial of his lawsuits, and that various abuses connected with the courts should be reformed; (4) that none should be required to work for the lord of the town, except to bring wood to his kitchen, and to take his wine twice a year to Orleans, and then only those who had horses and carts, and after due notice; (5) that no charge should be made for the use of the oven, nor for watch-rate, nor for the public crier at marriages, and that the dead wood in the forest might be taken by the men of Lorris for their own use; (6) that whoever wished might sell his property and freely depart, and that any

stranger who remained a year and a day without being claimed by his lord, should be free. This charter proved so popular that it was copied, in whole or in part, by eighty-three other towns; it was profitable alike to the little towns that received it, and to the lords who granted it.

Towns which secured the right to elect their officers and govern themselves are called "communes"; legally they were "artificial persons," or corporations, and entered into the feudal structure both as vassals and as suzerains. They were ruled either by a mayor and *échevins* (aldermen), or by a board of "consuls," like the Italian communes, without a mayor. The outward signs of a commune were the possession of a corporate seal; of a belfry, which served as watch tower, depot of archives, and magazine of arms; and of stocks and pillory for the punishment of offenders. Its charter was usually the culmination of a long series of disagreements, usurpations, and bloody insurrections; and frequent payments to lord and overlord were necessary to preserve its hard-won liberties.

146. Commune governments

From the twelfth century on, the towns grew in size and importance; and many enlightened lords (including the king) founded "new towns" to enrich their domains, offering reasonable liberties to attract settlers. These hardy townsmen formed the chief part of the class called the Third Estate, or commons, which gradually took its place in the political affairs of the kingdom alongside the "estates" of the Clergy and the Nobles. In the rise of the Third Estate lay the seeds of a whole series of revolutions, which were destined to shake feudal society from top to bottom, and cause its final destruction.

Mediæval towns were usually surrounded by walls defended by battlements and towers, while outside lay the settlements (called *faubourgs*) of the unprivileged inhabitants. In the belfry, watch was kept day and night: its warning bell announced the approach of enemies; sounded the alarm

147. Life in the towns

of fire, the summons to court and to council, and the hours for beginning and quitting work; and rang the "curfew" (*couvre feu*) at night, which was the signal to extinguish lights and cover fires. The streets were narrow and unpaved, and slops were emptied from second-story windows—sometimes even on the head of royalty passing by. Extensive gardens belonging to convents and hospitals caused the streets to twist and turn, and presented rare glimpses of green amid the wilderness of pointed roofs.

BELFRY OF BRUGES.
Built from 1291 to about 1390; 352 feet high.

In the thirteenth century the wealthier citizens began to erect comfortable houses; but the ground-floor front was usually taken up by an arched window-opening in which the merchant displayed his wares, while in the rear were carried on the manufactures of the shop. The shopkeepers grouped themselves by trades: here was the street of tanners, there that of the goldsmiths, elsewhere the drapers, cement makers, parchment makers, and money changers. Churches, of which great numbers were built in the thirteenth century, rose above the shops and houses, which pressed up to their very walls; in towns which were the seats of bishops, giant cathedrals of Gothic architecture towered above everything else. The business quarters, with their open booths and stalls placed in the streets, resembled bazaars, through which pedestrians could with difficulty

thread their way; horses and carts were obliged to seek less crowded thoroughfares. At mealtime, business ceased, and booths were closed; when curfew sounded, the streets became silent and deserted — save for the watch, making their appointed rounds, and the adventurous few whom necessity or pleasure led to brave the dangers of the unlighted streets.

148. Industry and guilds

Even in the twelfth century the chief occupation of the citizens was still agriculture; but industry and commerce developed rapidly under the protection afforded by town walls and charters, and the growing power of the king. Industries were carried on entirely by hand labor; there were scarcely any machines other than the tools employed by workmen from times immemorial. Each trade was organized into a guild, which laid down rules for carrying it on, and had the power to inspect and to confiscate inferior products. The guildsmen were divided into three classes: apprentices, who served from three to thirteen years, and paid considerable sums for their instruction; workmen ("journeymen"), who had finished their apprenticeship and received wages; and masters, who had risen in the trade and had become employers.

Apprentices and workmen were lodged and fed with the master's family above the shop; and it was easy for a frugal workman to save enough to set up as a master in his turn: under these conditions antagonism between capital and labor did not exist. The guilds had religious and benevolent features also; each maintained a common fund, made up of fines assessed against members, which was used for feasting, for masses, for the relief of the sick and burial of dead members. Guilds formed of members pursuing a trade, such as weaving or dyeing, were called craft guilds; older, richer, and more influential in developing the liberties of the towns, were the merchant guilds, the members of which engaged in commerce.

After the Germanic invasions, commerce had almost ceased; there was little demand for foreign wares or costly articles of

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60
50
40
Bergen
Skager Rack
NORTH SEA
Copenhagen
Stockho
Stralsund
Lübeck
Hamburg
Stettin
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Frankfort
Leipzig
Erfurt
Cologne
Antwerp
Bruges
Ghent
Ypres
Namur
Frankfort
Mainz
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Passau
Vienna
Ulm
Augsburg
Strasburg
Basel
Brenner Pass
Julier Pass
Milan
Verona
Venice
Genoa
Florence
Pisa
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Messina
SICILY
Syracuse
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Tripoli
Strait of Gibraltar
Lisbon
Oporto
Cordova
Seville
Barcelona
Marseilles
Narbonne
Beaucaire
Bordeaux
Tours
Orleans
Troyes
Paris
Beauvais
Laon
Boulogne
Calais
Southampton
Bristol
London
Stourbridge
Yarmouth
Amsterdam
Grimsby
Hull
York
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Pyrenees
Alps
Apennines
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Po R.
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Guadalquivir R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BALTIC
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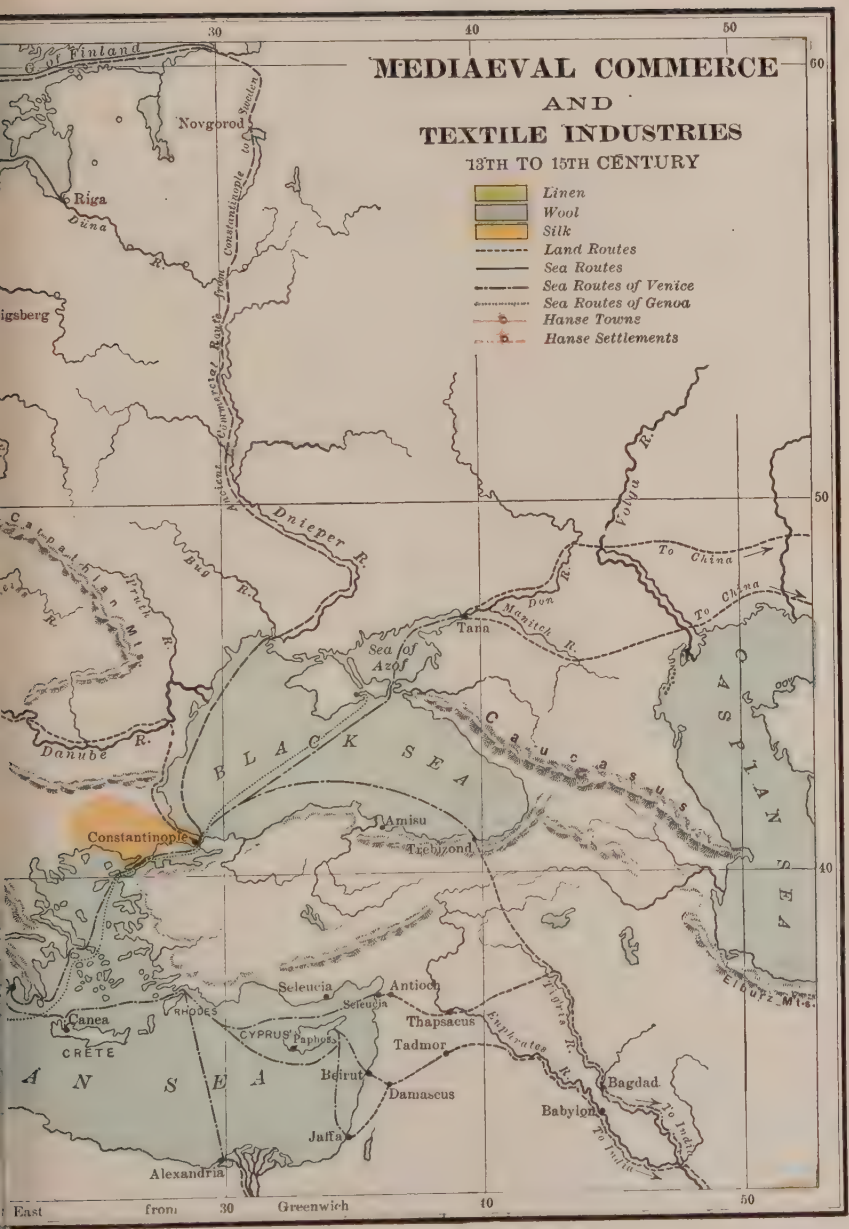
L.L. POATES, ENGRG CO., N.Y.


MEDIAEVAL COMMERCE
AND
TEXTILE INDUSTRIES
13TH TO 15TH CENTURY
Linen
Wool
Silk
Land Routes
Sea Routes
Sea Routes of Venice
Sea Routes of Genoa
Hanse Towns
Hanse Settlements
Gulf of Finland
Novgorod
Riga
Duna R.
Ancient Commercial Route from Constantinople to Novgorod
Dnieper R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Danube R.
Volga R.
To China
Don R.
Manitch R.
Tana
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
Caucasus
CASPIAN SEA
Amisu
Trebizond
Constantinople
Seleucia
Antioch
Thapsacus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Elburz Mts.
Tadmor
Canea
RHODES
CYPRUS
Paphos
CRETE
Beirut
Damascus
Bagdad
Babylon
To India
Jaffa
Alexandria
East from Greenwich
30
40
50
60

luxury, and the roads were too insecure to make the transportation of goods profitable. Under the early feudal régime, where downright robbery was not practiced, the lords exacted ruinous tolls at every bridge, market, and highway. It was only after the Crusades had stimulated enterprise and created new tastes that commerce played an important part in mediæval life. The Italian towns, from their central position in the Mediterranean, were the first to feel this quickening impulse; and Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice became important commercial centers. Venice, whose trade was originally confined to salt and fish, the products of its waters, developed a vast commerce in the spices, perfumes, sugar, silks, and other goods which came from the East by way of the Persian Gulf or Red Sea. In the fourteenth century it possessed a merchant marine of three thousand vessels, and each year sent large fleets through the Strait of Gibraltar to Flanders and the English Channel. Land routes led over the Brenner and Julier passes of the Alps to the upper Danube and the Rhine, there joining the Danube route from Constantinople and the Black Sea, and enriching with their trade Augsburg, Ratisbon, Ulm, Nuremberg, and a host of towns on the Rhine. From Genoa a much-traveled route led through France by way of the river Rhone. The great northern market for all this commerce was Bruges, where products of the south and east were exchanged for the furs, amber, fish, and woolen cloths of the north: merchants from seventeen kingdoms had settled homes there, and strangers journeyed thither from all parts of the known world. In the fifteenth century Antwerp wrested from Bruges this preëminence, largely as a result of the untrammeled freedom to trade which it granted.

149. Mediæval commerce

Great fairs, held periodically in certain places, under the license of the king or of some great lord, who profited by the fees paid him, were a necessity in a time when ordinary villages were entirely without shops, and mer-

150. Commercial organization

chants, even in cities and towns, carried only a limited variety and quantity of goods. Examples of such fairs were Smithfield (just outside of London) and Stourbridge in England; Beaucaire and Troyes in France; Frankfort-on-the-Main and Leipzig in Germany. Thither, during the times at which they were held, went merchants and traders from all over Europe; and thither, too, resorted the people for miles around to lay in their yearly stock of necessaries or to sell the products of their industry.

In the Middle Ages merchants traded, not as individuals, or as subjects of a state which protected their interests abroad, but as members (1) of the merchant guild of their town, which often secured special rights and exclusive privileges in other towns and countries; or (2) of some commercial company, like that of the Bardi and later the Medici of Florence; or (3) of some great confederacy of towns like the Hanseatic League of northern Germany.

151. Hanseatic League (1200–1450)

The Hanseatic League gradually arose from the union of German merchants abroad and German towns at home, and was completely formed by the thirteenth century; its objects were common defense, security of traffic by land and sea, settlement of disputes between members, and the acquisition and maintenance of trading privileges in foreign countries. The chief articles of commerce were herring and other salt fish, which were consumed in enormous quantities all over Europe, owing to the rules of the church, which forbade the eating of meat on Fridays and for the forty days during Lent; other articles of trade were timber, pitch, furs, amber, and grain. At its greatest extent, the league included more than ninety cities of the Baltic and North Sea regions, both seaports and inland towns. Lübeck on the Baltic was the capital of the league, where its congresses were held and records kept. Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Danzig, and Wisby (on the island of Gothland) were important members; and warehouses and

trading stations, with extensive privileges, were maintained at Novgorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, Bruges in Flanders, and London in England.

In the fourteenth century the league was drawn into a series of wars with Denmark, and became a great political confederation, with frequent assemblies, a federal tax, and a federal navy and military forces. After 1450 came a period of decay, due to the rise of foreign competition in trade, the revival of Denmark, the consolidation of the power of the German princes, and an unexplained shifting of the herring "schools" from the Baltic to more distant feeding grounds; but its final downfall does not come until the Thirty Years' War, in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to overestimate the part played in northern Europe by this civic league in promoting trade, suppressing piracy and robbery, training the people to orderly life and liberty, and spreading comforts and conveniences in half-barbarous lands.

152. General character of the Middle Ages

Europe of the Middle Ages differed greatly from the Europe of to-day. In many regions there was nothing but forest, swamp, and moor, where now are smiling fields and populous cities. The population on the whole was much less than now: England, which in 1901 had over 30,000,000 inhabitants, had in 1086 only about 2,150,000. The great growth of population, however, has been chiefly in towns and modern manufacturing districts, and not in the open country, which in many places was as thickly settled in the Middle Ages as in modern times.

Local overpopulation was one cause of frequent famines, when weeds and the bark of trees were gnawed for food, and depraved beings ate human flesh. There were no great accumulations of wealth; heavy goods could be transported only short distances by land on account of the miserable roads; and when crops failed, the surplus of distant provinces could not be brought to relieve distress.

The standard of comfort on the whole, even after the introduction of some luxuries from the East, was surprisingly low. The manner of living, even among the higher classes, was filthy and unsanitary. Floors were covered with rushes, among which bones from the table and other refuse were dropped, to be covered with new layers of rushes; and so on, until at length the whole decaying mass would be cleaned out. The death rate, especially among young children, was very high. In spite of all the glamour of chivalry and romance, the Middle Ages, on its material side, must have been a dreary time in which to live.

Intellectually it was a time of ignorance and superstition. Comets were regarded as signs of coming disaster; when one appeared "refulgent, with a hairy crown," it foretold the death of a king, while one with "long locks of hair [*i.e.* a tail], which as it scintillates it spreads abroad," foretold the ruin of a nation. "The invisible world . . . with its mysterious attraction and horrible fascination was ever present and real to every one. Demons were always around him, to smite him with sickness, to ruin his pitiful little cornfield [*i.e.* wheat field] or vineyard, or to lure his soul to perdition; while angels and saints were similarly ready to help him, to listen to his invocations, and to intercede for him at the throne of mercy, which he dared not address directly." It was an age of startling contrasts, when the sordidness of its daily life might be relieved with splendid exhibitions of lofty enthusiasm or darkened with hideous deeds of brutality. On the one hand it was, as Bishop Stubbs says, "the age of chivalry, of ideal heroism, of picturesque castles and glorious churches and pageants, camps, and tournaments, lovely charity and gallant self-sacrifice"; on the other, it was clouded with dark shadows of "dynastic faction, bloody conquest, grievous misgovernance, local tyrannies, plagues and famines unhelped and unaverted, hollowness of pomp, disease, and desolation."

Roger of Hoveden, Chronicle, year 1165

Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages, I. 60

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) In the picture of the chateau of Arques, point out the drawbridges, moat, bailey wall, outer ward, inner ward, and donjon. (2) Was the life of a knight more or less desirable than that of a wealthy man of to-day? (3) Compare the life of the farmer to-day with that of the mediæval peasant. (4) Compare the workingman to-day with the guild artisan. (5) Why did towns desire a charter?

Search topics

(6) The training of a knight. (7) The life of a boy or girl in a mediæval village. (8) The same in a mediæval town. (9) Mediæval system of agriculture. (10) Great fairs of the Middle Ages. (11) The struggles of some town in France, such as Laon, Cambray, or Beauvais, to secure self-government. (12) The craft guilds. (13) The merchant guild. (14) Commerce of Venice in the Middle Ages. (15) The Hanseatic League. (16) Mediæval hunting.

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CHAPTER XII.

ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES (449–1377)

With the fall of the mediæval empire, interest shifts to the national states, of which England was one of the first to arise. Britain, like all the West, formed part of the Roman Empire, and was overrun by Germanic tribes (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) after the year 449: in the course of two centuries they completely conquered the eastern and southern parts of the island, to which was given the name England (Angle-land). The Celtic Britons were killed, enslaved, or driven into the mountains, and the institutions of the German invaders were reproduced with scarcely any mixture of British or Roman elements. Even the Christian religion disappeared, along with the Latin tongue and the Roman-British civilization.

153. The Heptarchy (449–802)

Near the close of the sixth century, Christianity was reintroduced — in the south by missionaries sent direct from Rome (597), and in the north by Celtic (Irish) missionaries from the island of Iona (off the western coast of Scotland). At the synod of Whitby (664), Roman Christianity, with its recognition of the papal headship, triumphed over the loosely organized and semi-independent Celtic Church; and the ecclesiastic unity thus established helped to pave the way for the union of all England under one king.

In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries there were at least seven different kingdoms of the English; namely, those of the West Saxons, South Saxons, East Saxons, East Anglians (North Folk and South Folk), Mercians (or Middle

ENGLAND
in 878
After the Treaty of Wedmore
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
English Territory
Danish Territory
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Tweed R.
STRATHCLYDE
NORTHUMBRIA
Solway Firth
Tees R.
Whitby
ISLE OF MAN
DEIRA
York
Derwent R.
Stamford Bridge
Grimsby
Humber R.
ANGLESEY
Scrooby
Lincoln
Chester
Trent R.
Nottingham
The Wash
Dee R.
MERCIA
Derby
Stamford
EAST ANGLIA
Leicester
Ely
KINGDOM OF GUTHRUM
WALES
Severn R.
Evesham
Gloucester
Oxford
Cardiff
Bristol
Ashdown
London
Rochester
Canterbury
Bristol Channel
Wedmore
Eddington
Merton
KENT
DEPENDENCIES
Taunton
Wilton
Salisbury
Winchester
Senlac Hill
Dover
WESSEX
Southampton
SUSSEX
Hastings
ISLE OF WIGHT
WEST WALES

Angles), Northumbrians, and the men of Kent: the names of most of these peoples are still preserved in the county names of the regions where they ruled (Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, etc.). In the seventh century the kings of Northumbria acquired a vague supremacy over the other kingdoms. In the eighth this passed to the kings of Mercia. At the beginning of the ninth century it was won by Egbert, king of Wessex (802–839), from whom in one line the present sovereign of England traces descent.

In the year 787 "Danes," or Northmen, began to harry England. As on the Continent, they first came merely to plunder; but soon after 850 they began to form settlements. The reign of Alfred the Great (871–901) is the most remarkable in this period of England's history. He came to the throne at a time when the Danes were overrunning all Wessex. "Nine general battles," says a chronicler, "were fought this year (871) south of the Thames." After seven years of struggle Alfred defeated the Danes and forced them to accept the treaty of Wedmore, by which they were baptized as Christians, and received the land north of the Thames; the name "Danelaw" was given to this region because there the Danish, and not the Saxon, law was in force.

154. Invasions of the Danes

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 871

Alfred then reorganized his kingdom, remodeled the army, and erected strong earth-walled fortresses. He was fond of learning, and took steps to provide for the education of his people. He himself translated a number of works from the Latin into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and gave orders for the compilation of the great *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

In the latter part of Alfred's reign the war with the Danes began anew. Under his son and his three grandsons, who ruled one after another, the Danelaw was reconquered and again joined with the rest of England; but a large admixture of Danish blood continued in the north of England, leaving

its marks in the place names and in the rude freedom of its inhabitants.

155. Anglo-Saxon government

The most prosperous reign of the Anglo-Saxon period was that of Edgar (959–975), who was ably assisted in the government by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, the first of a long line of ecclesiastical statesmen. Over the "shires," or counties, power was exercised by "ealdormen," who corresponded to the counts of the Carolingian empire. There was the same tendency as on the Continent

KING AND WITAN.
From the Cotton MS.

for the local rulers to acquire independent authority and force the free peasant into serfdom; but the popular assemblies in the shires and "hundreds" (as the division next smaller than the shire was called) kept alive the practice of self-government, and acted as a check on the power of the "thegns," or lords. Over all was the "Witan," or council of wise men; these chose the king from the royal family, and assisted him in the work of legislation and administration.

The modes of trial in Anglo-Saxon England seem strange to

us, but were common to all Germanic peoples. Compurgation was a usual form; in this, the person accused swore to his innocence and produced a number of compurgators ("oath helpers"), who swore that they believed his oath to be "clean and without guile." In serious cases the ordeal was used; this was an appeal to the judgment of God. In the ordeal by hot iron the accused had to carry a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance in his bare hand; in the ordeal by hot water he had to thrust his hand into a kettle of boiling water. In either case the hand was then bandaged and sealed up for three days; if the wound healed properly, the person was declared innocent. In the cold water ordeal the accused was thrown into a stream of water, with hands and feet tied together; if he floated, he was guilty; but if he sank he was innocent and was to be rescued.

156. Danish conquest and English decay (977–1042)

Edgar's son Ethelred — called the "Redeless," or "Unready" (which means "lacking counsel") — ruled from 979 to 1016. He was rash, short-sighted, and weak, and in his reign there was great disorder and suffering. The invasions of the Danes were renewed, and Ethelred bought them off with money payments. At home the Northmen now formed the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; thenceforth the invaders came as armies for the purpose of conquest. The Danish residents in England sympathized with their brethren; the great ealdormen, too, fell to treachery and quarreling among themselves. The result was that Sweyn (Swegen, or Svend), king of Denmark, conquered the whole of England, and Ethelred was obliged, in 1013, to take refuge with his brother-in-law, the duke of Normandy. The next year Sweyn died suddenly, and Ethelred was restored, only to die in 1016.

After a brief struggle, Canute (1016–1035), the son of Sweyn, was accepted as king by all the English people. Already he was king of Denmark, and in 1028 he made himself king of

Norway. In England he ruled as an English king. The great ealdormen, who from this time are known as "earls," were kept in order with a strong hand, and peace and prosperity were enjoyed by English and Danes alike. While on a pilgrimage to Rome, Canute wrote to his English subjects: "I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things, to rule justly and piously my realms and my subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done aught beyond what is just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready with God's help to amend it utterly."

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, year 1031

Canute's sons, Harold and Hardicanute, ruled after him for seven years. Upon the extinction of the Danish line, the Witan chose as king the son of Ethelred, who was called Edward "the Confessor" (1042–1066), on account of his piety. He proved but a feeble ruler. He had been reared at the Norman court, where ways of life were less rude than in England; and the favor which he showed to Normans and Frenchmen angered his English subjects. The chief events of his reign centered in the quarrels of the great earls, who openly rebelled. Godwin, earl of Wessex, was the most powerful of these; after his death his office passed to his son Harold, who proved himself the most capable man of the kingdom. When Edward died without children, in 1066, Harold was chosen king by the Witan; but William, the duke of Normandy, put forth a claim to the throne and prepared an invading army.

157. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066)

William the Conqueror, as he is known in history, was the sixth duke of Normandy in descent from Rolf. He was only seven years of age when his father died on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and the minority of the young duke was one long struggle against his Norman barons. With the aid of the French king, William crushed his enemies (1047), and then built up a military power which made Nor-

158. The Norman Conquest (1066)

mandy one of the strongest governments of Europe. Already Norman adventurers were winning by their swords a kingdom in Sicily and southern Italy (§ 52); and when Duke William looked abroad for a similar field of conquest, he found it in England.

He secured a promise from Edward the Confessor (his father's cousin) that he should succeed to the throne of England; and circumstances enabled him to obtain from Earl

DEATH OF HAROLD.

From the Bayeux Tapestry. Harold is the second figure from the left.

Harold an oath not to dispute his claim. When Harold was chosen king, William protested; and bearing a banner consecrated by the Pope, he landed on the south coast of England in September, 1066. Harold had been called to the north to repel an invasion by the king of Norway, and returned too late to prevent the landing. The earls of the northern counties treacherously refused him aid, and Harold was forced to meet the Normans with only his own troops. The battle took place on the ridge later called Senlac, near the town of Hastings.

The strength of the English consisted in their mailed footmen armed with the battle-ax, while that of the Normans lay in their archers and mounted men-at-arms; two different

modes of warfare were thus contending, as well as two peoples and two civilizations. For a long time the issue was in doubt. To draw the English from their strong position, William ordered a portion of his troops to pretend to flee; this ruse was partly successful, but still the "shield wall" of Harold's guard held firm. At last an arrow struck Harold in the eye, piercing to the brain, and after this disaster the English were forced from the field (October, 1066).

This battle decided the possession of the English crown, and gave England a line of rulers which has lasted to this day.

159. Norman organization (1066–1087) William was formally chosen king, and within a few months was in tranquil possession of the whole kingdom. There were revolts of the native English and also of Norman barons (feudal lords), who rebelled against the iron rule of the Conqueror; but these were put down with terrible cruelty. In the main, the customs and laws of the English were respected, but the property of those who fought against William at Hastings was treated as forfeited, and either granted to new holders or confirmed to the old ones on the payment of a heavy fine.

In either event the tenure established was a feudal one, conditioned on the performance of military service, with all the "feudal incidents" of relief, aids, wardship, and marriage rights. Feudalism as a system (§§ 31–41) was thus introduced fullgrown into England; but William took pains to see that in England it should not become the menace to the crown that it was in France. An oath of allegiance to the king, taking precedence of all ties to feudal lords, was demanded from all freemen (1086), and the old Anglo-Saxon national militia, as well as the old popular assemblies, were continued as a check on the power of the lords or barons. It also happened that the lands granted his Norman followers, however extensive they might be, were widely scattered, and not in compact blocks, as they were in France. Thus it was

made more difficult than in France for a vassal to gather men to make war upon his king.

In order that he might know the resources of the realm, William caused an inquest of the lands, their holders, and their value to be made throughout England, the results being set down in what is known as *Domesday Book*. "So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made," says the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor — it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do — was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by." The value to the historian of this minute record, which is still in existence, may easily be imagined. William was a stern and a just king, but he was little loved.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1085

When William died, in the year 1087, primogeniture, or the right of the eldest son to succeed the father, was not an established custom. Robert, his oldest son, secured Normandy, but England passed to William Rufus, the second son. This William II. proved a harsh, wicked man, and was hated by all. After thirteen years of rule his body was found in the New Forest (near Southampton), with an arrow piercing the heart; whether he was slain by accident or by design no man can tell.

160. Norman succession (1087–1154)

William II. left no children, and Henry I. (1100–1135), the third son of the Conqueror, secured the throne. This was fortunate for England, as he was a strong ruler who knew how to keep the turbulent barons in check. To conciliate his subjects, he issued at his coronation a charter of liberties, which became the model for the Great Charter of King John (§ 167). The troubles stirred up by his brother, Robert of Normandy, ended with Robert's defeat and capture (1106). Normandy was then annexed once more to the English crown, with which it remained united for nearly a hundred years. The title "Lion of Justice," given to Henry, marks his activity in the punishment of crime. "He made peace," says the chroni-

A.-S. Chronicle, 1135

cler, "for men and deer; whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good."

The just government established by Henry I. died with him. His nephew, Stephen of Blois (son of the crusader, § 97), who secured the government after him, lacked firmness and good judgment, and the difficulties of his position were increased by the repeated efforts of Henry's daughter, Matilda, to win the crown. Civil war and anarchy followed, and lawless castles filled the land. The nobles "greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at their castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. . . . This state of affairs lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. . . . Then was corn [*i.e.* wheat] dear, and flesh, and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land; — wretched men starved with hunger; some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich; some fled the country. Never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these."

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, year 1137

The struggle for the crown ended with a treaty by which Stephen recognized Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, as his successor. The next year Stephen died, and Henry II., the first of the Angevin or Plantagenet kings, came to the throne. The early kings of this house were Henry II. (1154–1189), Richard I. (1189–1199), John (1199–1216), Henry III. (1216–1272), Edward I. (1272–1307), Edward II. (1307–1327), and Edward III. (1327–1377).

161. Reign of Henry II. (1154–1189)

In right of his father, Henry II. was count of Anjou (in France); in right of his mother, he received Normandy and England; by marriage with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, he

added that broad land to his dominions (map, p. 228). He was a strong king, tireless in the transaction of business, with a genius for organization. The abuses of Stephen's reign were speedily remedied, and peace and good order restored. His attempt to bring the clergy under the jurisdiction of royal courts brought him into conflict with the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket; and hasty words let fall by the king led four of his servants to murder the archbishop. By the people Becket was venerated as a martyr; and to secure absolution from the Pope, Henry was obliged to forego some rights of jurisdiction which he claimed over "criminous clerks."

MITER, CHASUBLE, AND STOLE OF THOMAS À BECKET.
Preserved in the Cathedral of Sens, France.

CROSS AT MONASTERBRICE, IRELAND.
Erected in 9th or 10th century. Part of the carving represents scriptural scenes.

England's conquest of Ireland began in this reign. In metal work, in sculpture, and in the illumination of manuscripts the Irish had attained a degree of culture then unsurpassed; but in political develop-

162. Henry's wars

ment they lagged behind. Ireland was still in the tribal stage, and tribe warred with tribe, chief with chief. In such circumstances it was inevitable that the Norman barons of England should intervene. The complete subjugation of the island was not effected until long afterward; but from this reign the fortunes of Ireland were linked with those of its eastern neighbor.

Henry II.'s possessions in France led him into almost constant warfare with the French king. In 1173 the kings of France and Scotland assisted the barons and the king's oldest son (Henry) to rebel; but the rebellion was put down, and the king of the Scots taken prisoner. News of the fall of Jerusalem, in 1187, led Henry II. to take the cross; but preparations for the crusade were interrupted by a new war with the French king, Philip Augustus, who aided the rebellion of Henry's son, Richard — now through the death of his elder brother the heir to the throne. The English king was defeated and forced to make peace; and at the head of the list of those allied against him, he read the name of his youngest son, John, whom he had supposed faithful. Already sick and worn out, Henry II. died three days later. He was a hard, stern man, with the fierce Angevin temper, and was little loved; but the value of his work can not be overestimated.

The most important feature of Henry II.'s reign was his judicial, military, and financial reforms. The Exchequer, or financial department of the government, was definitely organized. The old English militia was revived by a law called the Assize of Arms, and every man was obliged to provide himself with arms according to his means. The practice was introduced of excusing feudal tenants from military service on payment of a sum called "scutage": the money thus obtained was used to hire mercenary troops, who were better and more reliable soldiers; at the same time the new plan reduced the military strength of the feudal nobles.

163. Henry's reforms

The judicial reforms of Henry II. consisted chiefly in the establishment of itinerant justices and the introduction of trial and presentment juries. The justices itinerant went on circuit, bringing the king's justice into different parts of England; the settlement of many important cases was thus made easier, speedier, and more certain. A form of jury trial was introduced in civil causes to take the place of trial by compurgation and trial by battle. The latter was brought into England about the time of the Norman conquest; in it the plaintiff and defendant fought with arms before the judges, and God was supposed to make manifest the just cause by enabling its champion to triumph.

164. Trial by jury

In trial by jury the decision was given in the name of the community by those who had the best knowledge of the facts, and the result no longer rested upon superstition, accident, or superior force. Centuries passed, however, before jury trial reached the developed form of to-day. Trial by ordeal was used a little longer in criminal cases, but after 1219 trial by jury was introduced here also. Henry II. also made an important improvement in the means provided for the accusation of criminals. It often happened that a man was too powerful for an individual to dare accuse him; to remedy this, the jury of presentment, which later became the grand jury, was introduced to bring an accusation against suspected persons in the name of the community as a whole.

The trial and presentment juries greatly improved the administration of justice; but more important than this was their indirect influence. By participating in the administration of justice, Englishmen were trained in a knowledge of the law and in the exercise of the rights of self-government. Jurors acted not merely in judicial, but in administrative, matters, as representatives of their communities; and when once the principle of representation was fixed in local government, it became easy to introduce it into central affairs. Thus the

juries introduced by Henry II. became, under his successors, the taproot of parliamentary representation.

165. Richard I. (1189–1199)

Richard I., Cœur de Lion (the Lion-Hearted), was a good warrior, but a poor ruler. Most of his reign was devoted to the Third Crusade and to the defense of his Continental possessions; for these purposes, and for his ransom when taken captive while returning from the Holy Land (§ 105), England was oppressively taxed. Only seven months of the ten years of his reign were passed in England; but the administrative officers trained by Henry II. kept the country orderly and peaceful. Richard died of an arrow wound while on a characteristic mission, warring to secure a treasure found by one of his vassals in Aquitaine.

166. John (1199–1216)

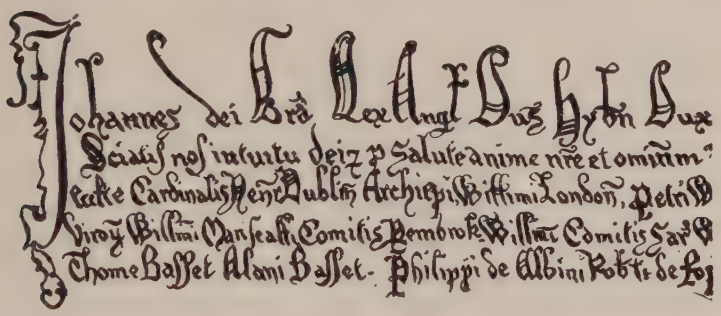
The Great Council of England chose Richard's brother John king after him, in preference to Arthur, the son of an elder brother Geoffrey. John had been an undutiful son and brother; he now proved the worst king that England ever had. His misconduct in Aquitaine led his barons there to appeal to King Philip against him, and when he refused to appear, his French fiefs were declared forfeited. Soon after, John secured possession of his young nephew, Arthur, and basely put him to death. This made it easier for Philip to enforce the sentence of forfeiture; and by the close of 1206 all the English possessions in France were lost, except Aquitaine.

John was next involved in a quarrel with Pope Innocent III., and for nearly five years England lay under an interdict, all ordinary church services being prohibited. To prevent his deposition, John at last made his peace with the Pope, agreeing to hold his kingdom as a papal fief and pay an annual tribute. He then hastened to France with such forces as he could raise to regain his lost possessions; but at Bouvines, in 1214, his ally, Otto IV. of Germany, was overwhelmingly defeated (§ 130), and John returned discredited to England. The loss of these Continental possessions was on the whole fortunate for England; it

practically completed the process, which had long been going on, whereby the barons ceased to be Normans and became English.

All classes were aroused by John's misgovernment; and during his absence a meeting was held at which it was agreed to take up arms unless he granted a charter of liberties, similar to that of Henry I. John sought to evade the demand; but the whole nation — nobles, clergy, and townsmen — united in it; and finally, in June, 1215, "in the meadow called Runnymede," on the river Thames, John put

167. The Great Charter (1215)



PORTION OF MAGNA CHARTA.

his seal to the Great Charter (*Magna Charta*). The demands of the barons were no selfish exaction of privileges for themselves; they secured the rights of all. Many of the provisions of the charter were of a temporary nature, remedying immediate grievances, but others were permanent in their importance. Among the latter are the following: —

"No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

Magna Charta, §§ *39*, *40*

"To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice."

When he signed the Great Charter, John had no intention of abiding by it, and within three months he was again at open

war with his barons. The latter planned to accept the son of the French king as sovereign; but in 1216 John died, leaving a son, Henry III., nine years of age. The Great Charter now received the first of many confirmations, and peace was rapidly restored.

168. Henry III. (1216-1272)

During the first sixteen years of Henry III.'s reign, officers trained in the methods of Henry II. directed affairs, and good order and prosperity followed. For twenty-six years the king was then under the influence of personal favorites, — greedy foreigners for the most part, — or carried on the government without ministers. In either case, misrule was the result; heavy taxes were laid to enrich his favorites and carry on useless wars in France, and clergy and people groaned under the exactions of papal legates. In 1258 the barons rose in rebellion under Earl Simon de Montfort, and brought this state of affairs to an end. The government was then under their control for seven years, until in 1265 the king's eldest son Edward escaped from the captivity in which he was held and raised an army. At Evesham he met and defeated the forces of Earl Simon, the latter being among the slain. Although himself of foreign birth, Montfort was a consistent advocate of English liberty, and did much to favor the growth of Parliament. After 1265 Henry III. was freed from the control of the barons, but only to pass under that of his strong and able son, Edward, till the king's death in 1272.

169. Edward I. (1272-1307)

Edward I. is the first king since the Norman conquest of whom it can be said that he was "every inch an Englishman." He had his father's personal virtues without his vices as a ruler; he was the greatest of the Plantagenet kings. He sought to unite under one rule the whole of the British Isles, and to accomplish this he waged war against the Welsh, until in 1284 that country was annexed to England; soon after arose the usage by which the title "Prince of Wales" is usually borne by the heir to the English throne. Edward

also intervened in Scotland and secured the recognition of his overlordship; disputes, however, followed, and Edward was several times forced to lead an army thither; and after his death Scotland regained its independence (formally admitted in 1328). The chief result of Edward's aggressions was to throw the Scots into alliance with France, and postpone until the eighteenth century the constitutional union of the two British kingdoms.

170. Rise of Parliament

More important than Edward's military exploits were his constitutional measures. Parliament assumed under him the form which it was to bear into modern times. The roots of this institution lay deep in the past: the idea of representation in local affairs was older than the Norman conquest; and under the Normans, especially in the juries of Henry II., it received a wide extension. The first introduction of representatives into the Great Council (the feudalized successor to the Anglo-Saxon Witan, § 155) was in 1213, when "four discreet men" of each county were ordered to be chosen to meet with the barons. In 1265 Simon de Montfort added borough or town representatives. In 1295 Edward summoned the Model Parliament, which contained the barons, together with representatives of counties and towns on a larger scale than before. After this time, elected representatives of the people were regularly summoned, along with the nobles and higher clergy, and the Great Council becomes the English Parliament. In the next century the representatives of towns and counties united to form the House of Commons, while the barons, including the bishops and abbots, formed the House of Lords. Parliament was thus divided into two houses, and its external structure was complete; but the development of its powers was only beginning.

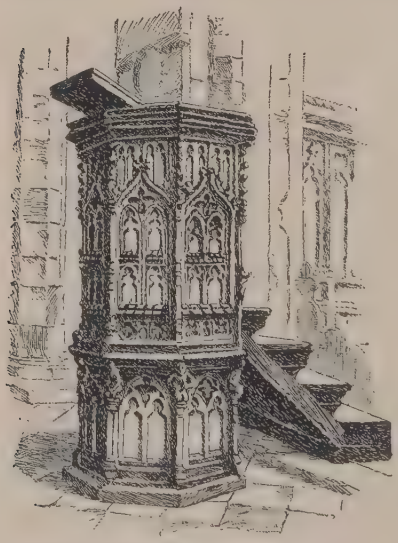
Edward I. was also active in reforming and systematizing the English laws. The thirteenth century was above all things the age of the lawyer and legislator, and in this field Edward's

work may well challenge comparison with that of Frederick II. of Sicily, and Louis IX. and Philip IV. of France.

Edward II. proved an unworthy son of his great father; he was frivolous and unprincipled, and utterly incapable of carrying on the work begun by Edward I. He angered the great barons by the favor which he showed to unfit companions; and after many disturbances he was forced to abdicate (1327), and was then murdered in prison.

Edward III., son of Edward II., showed the energy and capacity of his grandfather. The beginning of the Hundred Years' War with France (ch. xiv.) is the most important event of his reign; but constitutional progress was not arrested. Since the days of Henry III., the English had resented the exactions of the papacy, and the fact that the Popes now resided at Avignon (§ 187), on what was practically French soil, increased the ill feeling. Two great statutes were enacted against the papacy in this reign — the one forbidding papal appointments to ecclesiastical positions in England (Statute of Provisors), and the other preventing appeals to the papal court (Statute of Præmunire).

171. Edward III. (1327–1377)



Wyclif's Pulpit in Lutterworth Church.

About this time John Wyclif, an Oxford professor, successfully attacked the Pope's claim to English tribute based on John's submission, condemned the temporal lordship exercised by the church, and assailed the

doctrine of transubstantiation; with the assistance of others, he also translated the Bible into English, and formed a body of "poor priests" to preach among the people. In 1382 he was condemned for heresy; but circumstances did not permit of further steps being taken against him, and he died peacefully two years later. The importance of Wyclif's teaching outlived his own time and the circumstances which called it forth; he was the greatest of the "reformers before the Reformation," and the movement which he started, both in England and in Bohemia (whither it was transplanted), lasted in some sort down to the days of Luther.

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172. Summary

The conquest of Britain by the Angles and Saxons (449–600) established there a Teutonic people who have retained their Teutonic language and institutions to the present time. The Danish invasions made more marked their Teutonic character; and the Norman conquest (1066), while profoundly affecting English institutions by feudalizing and centralizing them, left almost untouched the Anglo-Saxon system of local self-government, and did not seriously change the nature of the people. Under the Angevin kings (1154–1399), Ireland and Wales were acquired and Normandy lost; in the same period a series of legal, financial, and judicial reforms improved the administration and strengthened the crown, while the rights of the nation were secured in the Great Charter, wrested from King John (1215). A representative Parliament arose (1213–1295) and became a regular part of the government; and the growth of national consciousness gave rise to a movement to restrict papal taxation, appointment, and jurisdiction in England. Long before the reign of Edward III. began, the Normans and English in England had become one people, and when the Hundred Years' War with France came, they were ready to support their king with the enthusiasm of a national spirit.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) What other lands suffered from the attacks of the Northmen or Danes at the same time with England? (2) Was the Norman conquest a good or a bad thing for England? (3) To what was due the anarchy under Stephen? (4) Show on an outline map the lands ruled by Henry II.; show also those lost by John. (5) What advantages had trial by jury over the older forms of trial? (6) What issues were involved in the battle of Bouvines? (7) Did Magna Charta grant new rights to Englishmen? (8) How did local self-government prepare the way for Parliament?

Search topics

(9) Character and work of Alfred. (10) William the Conqueror. (11) Reforms of Henry II. (12) Events leading up to Magna Charta. (13) Simon de Montfort. (14) Edward I. (15) Life and teachings of John Wyclif. (16) The rise of Parliament.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE RISE OF FRANCE (987–1337)

When Hugh Capet came to the throne of France, in 987 (§ 51), feudal tendencies had overmastered the monarchy; and what is now France was a bundle of feudal fragments, steadily growing farther apart in language, in law, and in political feeling. It was the work of the Capetian kings to reunite these fragments, to form a strong monarchy, and to impart national enthusiasm. As means with which to work they had extensive private estates in northern France, the support of the church and the towns, and the moral authority which attached to the office of king. The transformation was largely effected through the extension of the royal domain, that is, of those lands which were directly under the control of the crown.

173. Development of the royal power

Under the first four Capetian kings little was accomplished; but beginning with Louis VI. (1108–1137) rapid progress was made. By purchase, marriage, inheritance, and forfeiture, fief after fief was acquired, until at last the royal domain included almost the whole of France. To keep what was gained, the principle of hereditary succession to the crown was established against that of election (§ 51), partly through the practice of electing the son in the father's lifetime as his associate and successor, but more through the fortunate fact that, unlike the German imperial houses, the Capetians for eleven generations (until 1316) never lacked a son to receive the scepter of the father, and that only once was a long regency necessary.

Hugh Capet (987–996), the founder of the new dynasty, was regarded by the barons who made him king as little more than "first among equals," and his reign was occupied almost wholly with the struggle to secure his right to the crown. His son Robert (996–1031) was more of a monk than a warrior or statesman, and left the royal power little stronger than at his accession. Under Henry I. (1031–1060) the domain and the authority of the Capetians were reduced to the lowest point. His son Philip I. (1060–1108) showed active hostility to Normandy, as a result of the Norman conquest of England; and thenceforth French kings sought to separate Normandy from England, and sowed dissensions in the English royal family. In the latter part of Philip's reign he was hampered by a long quarrel with Pope Gregory VII.; nevertheless he began the increase of the royal domain, and prepared the way for greater extensions under his successors.

174. The first four Capetians (987-1108)

Louis VI. (1108–1137) is styled "the Fat," but he was the embodiment of martial energy. His great task was to reduce to order the petty nobles of the royal domain, who were often little better than brigands. The conditions which prevailed in France at this time were similar to those which existed in England under Stephen: every lord of a castle robbed at will, and some tortured with fiendish cruelty those who fell into their hands. Twenty years of hard fighting was necessary before the last of these brigands was crushed; and in order that such evils might not again occur, every fortress taken was destroyed or intrusted to faithful persons.

175. Royal domain reduced to order (1108–1137)

By this policy Louis VI. greatly increased the power of the crown: for the first time, the king became master of the royal domain, and could go from Paris to Orleans (p. 228) without risk of having his passage disputed by the lord of some petty castle. Louis VI. also taught the barons whose fiefs lay outside his domain that "kings have long arms," and at various times asserted his power in Flanders, Aquitaine, and elsewhere.

Louis VII. (1137–1180) finished the task of securing and consolidating the domain, but in other respects the growth of the royal power was retarded in his reign. This was chiefly owing to two causes: (1) his participation in the Second Crusade (§ 102); and (2) the increase of the power of the counts of Anjou.

176. Misfortunes under Louis VII. (1137–1180)

The Second Crusade both directly and indirectly was the cause of much misfortune to France. The king's absence was untimely, because of discord in the kingdom; but fortunately Louis left the government in the charge of Suger, abbot of the monastery of St. Denis near Paris, who was an able man, trained in administration under Louis VI. Suger, until his death in 1152, was the chief minister of the crown: as abbot, he reformed his monastery; as scholar, he wrote the life of Louis VI.; as statesman, in the language of one of his correspondents, he "sustained alone the burden of affairs, maintained the churches in peace, reformed the clergy, protected the kingdom with arms, caused virtue to flourish, and the authority of the laws to rule."

Zeller, Louis VI. et Louis VII., p. 95

Before his accession, Louis VII. had married Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, thereby adding that vast territory to the lands of the crown; but her misconduct on the crusade determined him to procure a divorce, which she also desired. A decree was obtained from a council of the French clergy, declaring the marriage void by reason of relationship within the degrees prohibited by the church. This was followed almost immediately by Eleanor's marriage to young Henry of Anjou (§ 161), and the great Aquitanian inheritance passed into the control of that house which was the deadliest rival of the Capetian kings. From near the mouth of the river Somme to the Pyrenees, the coast was now in the hands of the prince who two years later ascended the English throne as Henry II. Thenceforth the Capetians had to fight the Plantagenets, or to give up all hope of further growth.

177. Philip Augustus (1180–1223)

For more than twenty years Louis VII. struggled with Henry II., but the task of breaking the Angevin power was reserved for his son Philip II. (1180–1223). Unlike his antagonist Richard I. of England, Philip had little of the knight-errant in his character; he was patient and persevering, a master of statecraft and of diplomacy; he knew how to dissimulate, and was unscrupulous in his choice of means. "He was stern," says a contemporary, "toward the nobles who disobeyed him; it pleased him to stir up discord among them, and he loved to use in his service men of lesser rank." The chronicler Rigord gave him the name Augustus, "because he enlarged the boundaries of the state."

Lavisse and Rambaud, Histoire Générale, II. 365

Philip's part in the Third Crusade (§§ 104, 105) was a mere episode of his reign; his heart was not in the work, and as soon as the sense of obligation would permit, he returned to France. The chief principle of his policy was to stir up dissensions in the English royal family and separate the Continental possessions of that house from the island kingdom. During the first twenty years of his reign, the ability of Richard the Lion-Hearted, and a conflict with the papacy caused by Philip's attempt to divorce his first wife, prevented him from accomplishing much. The weakness and wickedness of King John, however, gave him his opportunity. In 1202 the English fiefs were declared forfeited (§ 166), and castle after castle was taken, including the famous Chateau Gaillard built by Richard to guard the Seine. All the English fiefs except Aquitaine passed into Philip's hands, and the battle of Bouvines (1214) secured him in possession. A vast domain, with an extensive seaboard, thus came into the hands of the French king, lifting him far above the level of his greatest vassals.

The development of the French towns, which was sketched in a preceding chapter (§ 145), went on at a rapid rate

under Philip Augustus. His father and grandfather, Louis VII. and Louis VI., were half hostile to the rising power of the communes; but Philip welcomed the towns as a useful ally against the feudal nobles. Communal independence, however, was not part of his plan; if with one hand he granted charters of liberties, with the other he extended the royal supremacy.

178. Development of towns

Paris, as the chief place of the royal domain, received a special treatment. In the time of Julius Cæsar, Paris was a little cluster of huts on a marshy island of the river Seine; during the five hundred years of Roman rule it grew to be a provincial capital; by making it his ordinary place of residence, Philip Augustus caused it to become the first national capital of a modern state. His fostering care increased its area, erected new walls, inclosing territory on both banks of the river, paved its streets to do away with their ill-smelling and unsanitary mudholes, and completed the erection of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, one of the noblest examples of Gothic architecture.

Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris.

In the reign of Philip Augustus was begun a movement to stamp out heresy in the south of France, which had important results for civilization, for the church, and for the royal power. Many heretical sects had sprung up in the

179. Heretical sects

eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some, like the Waldenses, founded by Peter Waldo of Lyons (about 1178), emphasized the need of a return to the simple life and worship of the Apostles. Others, like the *Cathari* (Manicheans), whose Christianity was tinged with Persian doctrines, believed in two coequal Gods, — one good, the other evil, — declared the material universe to be the creation of the evil deity, and rejected the existing order in church and state; the "perfect" members of the sect rejected marriage, and were frankly opposed to the whole social organization. The *Cathari* were most numerous in southern France, where they were known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, near Toulouse.

Southern France, or Languedoc, at this time was so different from northern France in language, customs, and culture as almost to constitute a separate nation. There flourished the troubadours, the authors of the earliest poetical literature in the popular tongues; there, too, were to be found culture, luxury, and toleration such as few other European lands could boast. The ardent nature of the people led many to adopt with zeal the teachings of the Albigenses, and soon all classes were infected. Their enemies charged them with immoral practices, but the charges seem largely unfounded.

180. Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229)

Pope Innocent III. declared the doctrines of the heretics to be ruinous to the church and subversive of society; and after two peaceful missionary efforts had failed, and a papal legate had been murdered by a knight of Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, the Pope issued a call for an armed crusade. Philip Augustus, pleading his preoccupation with "two great and terrible lions," John of England and Otto IV. of Germany, refused to take part; but a host of lesser lords from the north, among whom Simon de Montfort, father of the English earl (§ 168), was preëminent, gathered at the Pope's call. The chief direction of the crusade was given to the papal legate Arnold, abbot of Cîteaux.

The war was waged with frightful cruelty; "according to his own admission Arnold raged furiously, without sparing rank, sex, or age, with murder, pillage, and fire in Christ's name." In part this cruelty is explained by the violent excesses of the Albigenses, who had waylaid and slain priests, and driven bishops and abbots from their benefices; but fanaticism and lust of lands and booty helped on the movement. Twice the count of Toulouse made abject submission, and twice he again took up arms. In 1226, Louis VIII., who had ascended the throne three years before, led a great expedition against Toulouse; but on the way back he died of fever.

Moeller, History of the Christian Church, II. 399

All parties were now tired of the struggle; and in 1229 a treaty was arranged between the French king, Louis IX., and the new count of Toulouse, son of the original count. Heresy was to be put down, and the count was to do penance for his support of the heretics; part of his estates were to pass at once to the king, and the remainder to go at the death of the count to the king's brother Alphonse, who was to marry the count's daughter. As it turned out, Alphonse left no heirs, and in 1271 these estates also passed into the royal domain. By these wars the domain of the crown was much increased, and the royal power given a firmer footing in the south; for southern France itself, the result was a decay of its peculiar civilization and the extinction of the troubadour poets.

181. The mendicant orders

The complete rooting out of heresy in southern France took time and was accomplished largely by new agencies — the Mendicant Orders and the Inquisition. The older orders of monks sought to shut out the world, and gave themselves up to prayer and meditation; the new mendicant orders were to live and labor in the world, seeking preferably the poorest quarters of the towns. The Dominicans, or Preaching Friars (also called Black Friars), were founded by Saint Dominic (died 1221), a Spaniard of noble family; the

Franciscans, or Friars Minor (called Gray Friars), were founded by Saint Francis, an Italian of mystical temperament. "No human creature since Christ," says a modern Protestant writer, "has more fully incarnated the ideal of Christianity than Francis. Amid the extravagance, . . . of his asceticism, there shines forth the Christian love and humility with which he devoted himself to the wretched and neglected — the outcasts for whom, in that rude time, there were few indeed to care." Both orders, after some hesitation, were authorized by the papacy, and became its stanch supporters. The Dominicans applied themselves especially to preaching and teaching, while the Franciscans turned rather to care for the poor and sick.

Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages, I. 260

At first the friars were enthusiastically welcomed. "They went out two by two," says a contemporary; "they took neither wallet, nor money, nor bread, nor shoes, for they were not permitted to possess anything. They had neither monastery, nor church, nor lands, nor beasts. They made use of neither fur nor linen, but wore only tunics of wool, terminating in a hood, without capes or mantles or any other garment. If they were invited to eat, they ate what they found; if they were given anything, they kept none of it for the morrow. Once or twice a year they gathered together for their general chapter, after which their superior sent them, two together or more, into the different provinces. . . . They were so increased in a little time that there was no province in Christendom where they had not their brethren."

Jacques de Vitry, in Zeller (Philippe Auguste), 80

182. Founding of the Inquisition (about 1233)

When open resistance ceased on the part of the heretics, it became increasingly difficult to root them out; the bishops' courts proved insufficient for the task, and gradually another means was devised. This was the Inquisition, composed of persons especially commissioned to track down and punish heretics, and unhampered by other cares or by responsibility to any authority save Rome. From

an early day this work was largely turned over to the Dominicans. The procedure of the Inquisition was of a kind to tempt those blinded by passion and self-seeking to bring accusations on slight pretexts; and so close was the connection between its branches, and so complete its records, that neither time nor flight could insure immunity. Names of accusers and of witnesses were concealed, and torture (adopted from the secular courts) was freely used to elicit confessions. The Inquisition stamped out the last embers of the Albigensian heresy, but it left a legacy of tyranny and oppression from which the world was long in escaping.

183. Louis IX. (1226–1270)

Louis IX., son of Louis VIII., grew up to be the possessor of virtues which won for him the title of "Saint," and of abilities which insured the steady growth of the royal power; he had all the good qualities of his age and few of its bad ones. Until he attained the age of twenty-one (in 1236) the government was carried on by his mother, Blanche of Castile, a high-minded, ambitious, capable, and pious woman from whom Louis derived his best qualities. The nobles resented her rule because she was a woman and a foreigner; and they thought the occasion favorable to regain lost territories and privileges. Coalitions were formed and war begun, with the aid of England; but the courage and ability of Blanche were more than a match for her enemies. It is not too much to say that she saved the monarchy; and until her death, in 1252, she exercised a powerful influence on the French government.

COFFER OF THE TIME OF SAINT LOUIS, PRESENTED BY HIS GRANDSON TO AN ABBEY.

Covered with painted designs of royal insignia and allegorical subjects. In the Louvre, Paris.

The history of Louis's personal reign deals principally with his relations with England, his administrative reforms, and his two crusades. His wars with England ended, in 1258, with a treaty by which he restored some lands in return for a formal renunciation by Henry III. of all right to the territories confiscated by Philip Augustus. The high estimation in which Louis was held, even by his enemies, is seen in the fact that six years later he was chosen arbitrator between Henry and his rebellious subjects.

Saint Louis's Capture of Damietta, in Egypt (1249).
From an old print.

The administrative reforms and legislation of Saint Louis were very important. He reformed the judiciary and abolished the right of private warfare; he also took steps which led to the separation of the central government into three branches: (1) the Council, for political affairs; (2) the Exchequer, for finance; and (3) the Parlement of Paris, for judicial business.

While insisting fully upon his rights as king, he nevertheless showed respect for the just rights and privileges of the feudal nobles.

Soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, Louis IX. "took the cross," and was absent from France in Egypt and Palestine for six years (§ 111). So far as any practical end was concerned, his crusade was a failure; but Louis won wide renown for his courage and devotion. In 1270 he led another crusade, which was directed to Tunis because Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily (§ 136), had claims against the Mohammedan lord of that land. Soon after he landed, pestilence broke out in the camp, and to it King Louis himself fell a victim.

184. Philip III. (1270–1285)

Philip III., who succeeded his father, was a well-meaning king, without discernment; but he was ruled by councilors trained under Louis IX., and the work of uniting the realm and centralizing the government was not interrupted. Charles of Anjou proved the evil genius of his nephew Philip, as he had of Louis IX. In 1282 Charles's misgovernment of his kingdom of Naples and Sicily caused a rising known as the "Sicilian Vespers"; with the assistance of the king of Aragon, the rebels established their independence, and for a century and a half Sicily was separated from Naples. War between France and Aragon followed, and Pope Martin IV. (a Frenchman) gave to it the character of a crusade. With a large army, Philip III. crossed the Pyrenees to avenge his uncle's injuries; he accomplished little, and on his return died of the plague at Toulouse. The turbulent career of Charles of Anjou came to an end a few months earlier.

185. Philip IV. (1285–1314)

Under Philip the Fair, as contemporaries called the son of Philip III., wars were waged with Aragon, England, and Flanders, but with no great results. Flanders, though a fief of the French crown, was so prosperous through its rich agriculture, and the woolen manufactures and trade of

its cities, as to make its count a semi-independent prince. His alliance with the English led Philip IV. to attempt to annex Flanders, but in the battle of Courtrai (1302) the French knights were routed by the Flemish tradesmen. This was the first of a long series of battles which taught Europe that foot soldiers, if properly armed and handled, were more than a match for mounted men-at-arms. The only important additions which Philip IV. made to the royal domain were the city of Lyons, on the river Rhone, and the county of Champagne, east of Paris — both made by peaceable methods.

Philip IV. kept the administration in the hands of men of humble origin, trained in the doctrines of the Roman law; and their zeal and loyalty were a constant support. In 1302 he called the first Estates-General of France — an assembly corresponding to the Parliament of England. Its history differs from that of the English Parliament in that the three "estates" (the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, or Third Estate) remained distinct; class and local interests, therefore, controlled its action, and it never attained the regularity of session and the extensive powers which gave the English Parliament its great strength.

186. Contest with Pope Boniface VIII. (1296–1303)

Of more importance than Philip's wars was his struggle with Pope Boniface VIII. The question really at issue was whether the papacy should rule over European states in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. Gregory VII., Innocent III., and now Boniface VIII., advanced claims which would have made kings and Emperors mere vassals and dependents of the papacy; and the papal triumph over the house of Frederick II. (§ 136) seemed firmly to establish these principles. But in France, as also in England, a national sentiment was arising which enabled the king to maintain his independence. In both countries the quarrel arose over a bull issued by Boniface, called from its opening words *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the payment of taxes by the clergy to

the laity. In England, Edward I. brought the clergy to terms by withdrawing from them the protection of the law, the administration of which they refused to support. In France, Philip answered the Pope's bull by cutting off contributions from the French church to the papacy. In the course of the struggle with Philip, Boniface issued the bull called *Unam Sanctam*, in which the papal claims to temporal power were stated in their most explicit form. "There are two swords," argued Boniface, quoting St. Luke (xx. 38), "the spiritual and the temporal; our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the church: the one the spiritual, to be used *by* the church, the other the material, *for* the church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. . . . The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. . . . If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert, with the heretical Manicheans, two coequal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

Milman, Latin Christianity, VI. 326

After the issuing of this bull, preparations were made to excommunicate and depose Philip. To prevent this, agents of the French king, acting with the Pope's Italian enemies, seized him at Anagni in Italy, and subjected him to great indignities. Boniface was now eighty-six years old, and the shock was such that he died within a few weeks (1303). He was the last of the great mediæval Popes.

187. Anagni and Avignon

The affair at Anagni is the counterpart to the humiliation of Henry IV. at Canossa; the papacy triumphed over the empire, only to have its own power shattered by the resistance of the new national monarchies. For three quarters of a cen-

tury France now controlled the papacy as the Emperors had once done. On the ground that Rome was unsafe, the seat of the Pope was fixed at Avignon, on the borders of France (1305); thus began the period called the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church, which lasted until 1376.

PAPAL PALACE, AVIGNON.

Built 1336–1364. One of the best specimens of mediæval military architecture in existence.

188. Succession to the throne (1314–1328)

The death of Philip IV., in 1314, was followed by the reign, in rapid succession, of his three sons — Louis X. (1314–1316), Philip V. (1316–1322), and Charles IV. (1322–1328). The chief interest of these reigns lies in the question of the succession to the throne. Louis X. was the first Capetian king to die without a son to succeed him, and the question arose for the first time whether a woman could reign in France. An assembly of the nobles and clergy decided against Louis's daughter and in favor of his brother Philip; thus a new rule was established, in accordance with which no queen has ever held sway over France in her own right.

When Charles IV., the last of the Capetians in the direct line, died (in 1328) without a son, this rule received a further extension. The councilors of young Edward III. of England claimed the throne for him as the nearest male heir, through his mother, who was a daughter of Philip IV. A French assembly decided, however, that not only was a woman herself debarred from the succession, but she could transmit no claim to her son. This is the principle to which the name "Salic law" was afterward given, on the supposition that it was based on a provision of the old law of the Salian Franks. In reality it was based on the unwillingness of the French nobles to receive a foreigner as king, and at the time nothing was said of the Salic law.

The choice of the nobles fell upon Philip of Valois, the representative of the nearest male line of the Capetian house. Under the name of Philip VI. he was received by France, and in 1329, and again in 1331, Edward III. acknowledged him as his lord for the fief of Guienne, or Aquitaine. Other causes, however, soon led to war between England and France, and then the claim of Edward III. to the French throne became a factor in the contest which we call the Hundred Years' War.

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189. Summary

From Louis VI. to Philip IV. there was a steady progress in territorial unity and governmental efficiency. Philip IV. gave to the government the general form which it has continued to bear in spite of subsequent revolutions; France ceased to be a mere feudal monarchy and became a modern state, with power centering in the crown. A comparison of the development of France with that of Germany and England is instructive. In Germany the disintegrating tendencies of feudalism prevailed, a minute territorial division resulted, and the Emperor was despoiled of all power, without profit to the people. In England, the struggle between the feudal nobles and the crown produced a constitutional mon-

archy under which popular rights and liberties rapidly developed. In France the powers of the crown grew at the expense of the feudal nobles, but without gain to the people save through greater security and better government.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen house, France becomes the most important country of Europe, the part which the Emperors formerly played in Italy being now taken by the French kings. The intellectual and artistic influence of France was also great. "Her intellect," says the eminent historian Lavisse, "gave expression to the whole civilization of that period — religious, feudal, and knightly. The French wrote heroic poems, built castles and cathedrals, and interpreted the texts of Aristotle and the Scriptures. Their songs, buildings, and scholastic philosophy verged upon perfection. Already independent, already mobile and sprightly, the French mind freed itself from tradition and authority. It produced the aërial grace of Gothic art. . . . Christian Europe copied French cathedrals, recited French heroic and humorous songs, and thus learned the French language. . . . Almost all the universities of Europe were like swarms of bees from the hive of Mount St. Genevieve [University of Paris]. A proverb said that the world was ruled by three powers, — the Papacy, the Empire, and Learning; the first residing in Rome, the second in Germany, the third in Paris."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why should the acquisition of England by the Norman dukes change their relations to the French kings? (2) What does the length of the struggle to reduce the domain to order show concerning the power of the crown at this time? (3) What historical influences would account for the higher civilization of southern France? (4) Was the church responsible for the cruelty which accompanied the Albigensian crusade, or was it due to the character of the times? (5) Were the persons who took part in that movement more animated by religion or by desire for gain? (6) Why should the friars be more successful in combating heresy

than the parish priests? than the monks? (7) How had Charles of Anjou come into possession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily? (8) What fundamental difference was there between the French Parlement and the English Parliament? (9) Why should the lawyers prove more loyal servants of the crown than counselors drawn from the nobles and clergy? (10) What preliminary training of the English helped make their Parliament more effective than the French Estates-General? (11) Distinguish priests, monks, and friars. (12) What was Aquitaine? (13) What was Flanders?

Search topics

(14) Character and work of Louis VI. (15) Philip Augustus and the Third Crusade. (16) Increase of the royal power under Philip Augustus. (17) The Waldenses. (18) The Albigenses. (19) The troubadours. (20) Saint Dominic. (21) Saint Francis of Assisi. (22) Louis IX. (23) Contest of Philip IV. and Pope Boniface VIII. (24) Popular feeling toward the friars. (25) Early descriptions of Paris. (26) Nature and authority of a papal bull.

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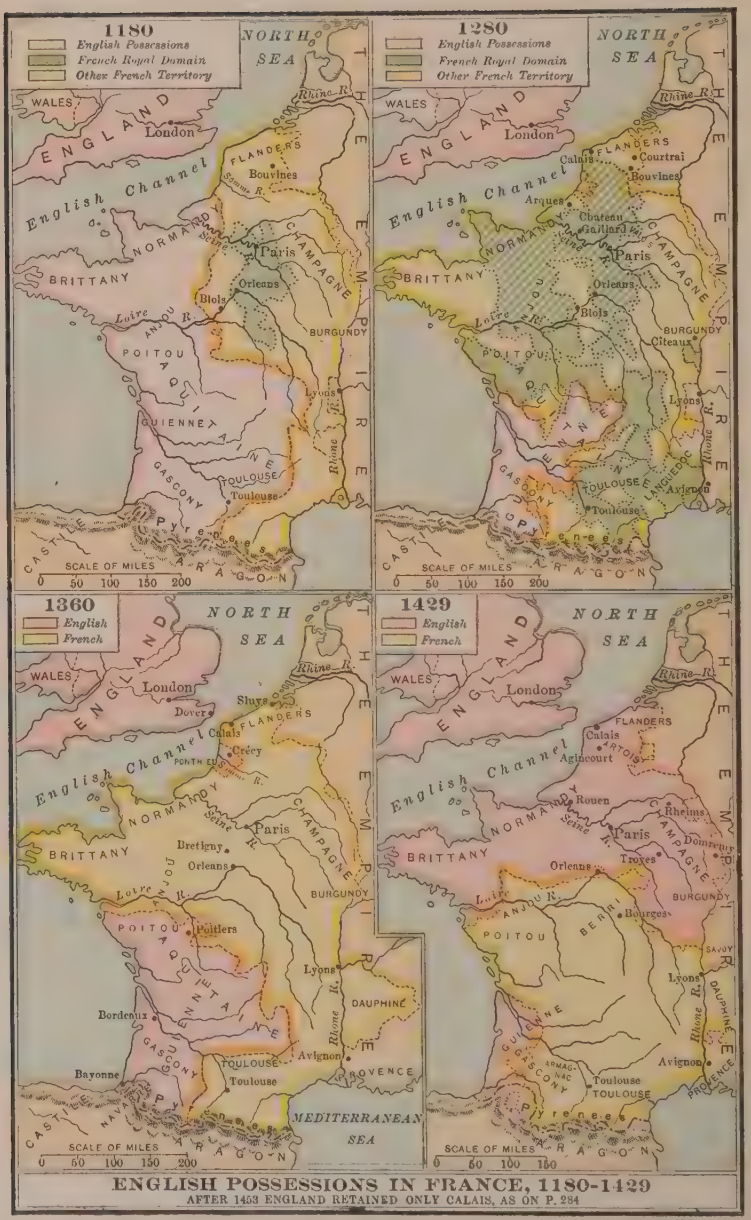

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE, 1180-1429

AFTER 1453 ENGLAND RETAINED ONLY CALAIS, AS ON P. 284

L.J. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1337–1453)

MANY causes combined to produce the succession of conflicts between England and France which we call the Hundred Years' War. The conquests of Philip Augustus left a hostility which lingered in spite of the treaty of 1258 (§ 183); and the rejection of the claims of Edward III. to the French throne increased the tension. There was also friction over the English possession of Guienne; and in Scotland the French aided the young king, David Bruce, while the English supported a rival claimant.

190. Origin of the war

The final breach resulted from troubles in Flanders, which was a French fief, but depended for the prosperity of its towns on the manufacture of cloth made from English wool. In 1336 the French king, Philip VI. (1328–1350), recklessly caused the arrest of all Englishmen there; and in retaliation Edward III. seized Flemish merchants in his kingdom, and forbade the exportation of English wool. The Flemish burghers thereupon rebelled and formed an alliance with England to secure their accustomed supplies of wool; and to satisfy their scruples against warring upon their king, Edward III. took the title of king of France — a title which his successors did not finally abandon until the time of George III. Previous wars between England and France had been feudal struggles between their kings, the people taking little part: French interference with English interests in Flanders now aroused the English Parliament to enthusiastic support of the war, and

Edward's claim to the throne of France made it a life-and-death struggle for the French monarchy.

The operations of the first few years were carried on by Edward III. in the neighborhood of Flanders, and were without appreciable results. In 1340, however, he was met off Sluys, while crossing the Channel, by a fleet of French and Genoese vessels, which were chained together in order to present a more solid front. Then began "a sore battle on both parts; archers and crossbows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together." The battle lasted from morning until noon, and ended in complete victory for the English. Thenceforth, for a generation, the English were masters of the seas, and could land their expeditions where they wished.

191. Opening of the war (1337-1346)

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 50

Genoese Crossbowman.

In 1346 occurred the first pitched battle of the war. An expedition under the English king landed in Normandy and advanced up the valley of the Seine until the flames of the villages fired by the English could be seen from the walls of Paris. Without attempting to attack the capital, Edward turned northward to join his forces with those of the Flemings, while an enormous French army under Philip followed him. Edward crossed the river Somme by means of a ford at the river mouth revealed by a peasant, and took up a position near the village of Crécy, from which the subsequent battle takes its name.

The English, who consisted chiefly of infantry armed with

the longbow, — the excellence of which had been demonstrated in the wars of Edward I. against the Welsh and Scots, — were stationed in three divisions on the slope of a little hill. The French force outnumbered the English five to one, and consisted chiefly of mounted men-at-arms, with a body of hired Genoese crossbowmen. The latter were first sent forward to the attack. They were tired with a long day's march, and their crossbow strings were slacked with a wetting received in a passing thundershower. They were no match for the English longbowmen; and when the shafts of the English began to fall "so thick that it seemed as if it snowed," the Genoese broke and fled. At this Philip in passion called out, "Slay these rascals, for they trouble us without reason." "And ever still," says Froissart, "the Englishmen shot wherever they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses; and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not arise again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another."

192. Battle of Crécy (1346)

ENGLISH LONGBOWMAN.

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 130

A portion of the French finally managed to reach the English knights under the Black Prince, son of Edward III., who were on foot in the rear of the archers. In haste messengers were sent to inform the king, who with the reserve coolly watched the battle from a windmill at the top of the hill. "Return to them that sent you," said Edward, "and say to them that they send no more to me as long as my son is alive. And also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 130

this day be his and the honor thereof." On the French side there fell the blind old king of Bohemia, who chivalrously caused his horse to be led into the fight that he "might strike one stroke" with his sword in the cause of his ally.

193. Effect of Crécy (1346)

At nightfall the English lines were still unbroken, while the French were in hopeless confusion. Philip fled wounded from the field, leaving behind him among the slain eleven princes of France and thousands of lesser rank. The English loss was inconsiderable. The victory was due chiefly to the English archers and the tactical skill of King Edward. Even if cannon of a small, crude sort were not (as some writers claim) used at Crécy, the battle nevertheless foretold, equally with that of Courtrai (§ 185), a new era in warfare. "It was a combat of infantry against cavalry, of missile weapons against heavy armor and lances, of trained professional soldiers against a combination of foreign mercenaries with disorderly feudal levies. And the inevitable result was made the more decisive by the utter want of generalship on the part of the French king."

Lodge, Close of the Middle Ages, 96

After the battle, Edward continued his retreat unmolested, and laid siege to the city of Calais. In spite of a heroic resistance the town was at last obliged to surrender. Although Edward did not, as he at first threatened, put to death the leading townsmen, the whole population was expelled and their places taken by English settlers. For two hundred years, thenceforth, Calais was an English town, an outpost of England's power and trade; and its possession, with that of Dover on the other side the Channel, went far to confirm the claim of the English king to be "lord of the narrow seas."

194. The Black Death (1347–1351)

After the fall of Calais, a truce was arranged which lasted for several years. In this interval the exhaustion caused by the war was aggravated by a terrible pestilence, called the "Black Death," which resembled the bubonic plague of to-day. Arising in Asia, it reached Europe by way of

Egypt and Syria, appearing in Sicily, Tuscany, and Provence in 1347. During the winter months its progress was checked; but the next summer it resumed its march, spreading "from city to city, from village to village, from house to house, from man to man." Germany and England experienced its ravages in 1349 and 1350; Norway and Russia in 1351.

Everywhere the mortality was frightful; in some of the provinces of France, two thirds of the population perished; during the four years that this plague lasted, at least a third of the inhabitants of Europe were carried off. The unsanitary arrangements of the Middle Ages — the complete lack of sewerage systems, the accumulations of filth and decaying matter in streets and houses, and the pollution of water supplies — sufficiently explain the widespread and great mortality. Where conditions were better, as among the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, the mortality was less. The Black Death was only the most terrible of many plagues which devastated Europe in the Middle Ages, the recurrence of which gradually ceased with advance in cleanliness and sanitary science.

195. Effects of the Black Death

The direct and indirect effects of the Black Death were very great. In Germany an hysterical religious outbreak occurred, and companies of penitents called Flagellants journeyed from place to place, seeking to appease the wrath of God by mutual scourgings. In England the decline in the number of laborers gradually produced an abandonment of the old manorial system of agriculture; more and more the lands were let out to tenant farmers paying money rent instead of services, or else they were put into pasture for sheep. Villenage declined, especially after a rising of the peasants in 1381, under Wat Tyler; and a system of free labor gradually took its place. To meet conditions produced by these changes, the government was obliged more and more to undertake, through parliamentary statutes, the regulation of trade and industry; thus the functions of the state were enlarged, and

thereby the change from mediæval to modern usages and ideas was hastened.

In France the influence of the Black Death was complicated by the devastation wrought by war and misgovernment.

196. Desolation of France

The condition of the people in the second half of the century became pitiable in the extreme. On the reduced population the heavy taxes for the English war fell with redoubled force. The peasants had to contribute to pay ransoms for the deliverance of their lords from captivity, and for the redemption of their own goods from destruction. They were forced by both sides to labor without pay in carrying supplies, and at siege operations. Often they were tortured to extort money and provisions, when they themselves lacked bread for their families. To escape such evils, peasants fled in large numbers to the depths of the forests, only to die of famine and the attacks of wolves. Many parishes were completely depopulated. Through the joint operation of the plague and the war, the rude prosperity which characterized the French people at the beginning of the century was brought to an end, and seeds of weakness were sown from which the land was slow to recover.

Philip VI. died in 1350, before the renewal of the war. His son John (1350–1364) was a good knight, but without capacity for government or generalship.

197. Battle of Poitiers (1356)

In 1355 the war was renewed by an expedition of the Black Prince into southern France. The next year the prince started to march northward into Normandy ; but near Poitiers he was confronted by an army many times larger than his own. So hopeless seemed the odds, that he offered (but in vain) to surrender his spoil and his prisoners, and to bind himself not to fight again for seven years, as the price of a free retreat.

As at Crécy, the English force consisted principally of archers, while the French were mostly mounted and armored knights. The English were stationed on a little plateau pro-

tected by a hedge and by rough and marshy ground. King John was persuaded that the strength of the English at Crécy had been due, not to their archers, but to the fact that their men-at-arms were dismounted; accordingly, he ordered his knights to advance on foot, thus throwing away his chief advantage. The first and second divisions of his army failed to come within striking distance of the enemy; and upon their retiring, the third division, commanded by the king himself, was left to bear the whole weight of the English counter-attack. "There was a sore fight," says Froissart, "and many a great stroke given and received. . . . King John with his own hands did that day marvels in arms; he had an ax in his hands wherewith he defended himself and fought in the breaking of the press." Refusing to flee, he and his youngest son were taken captives by the English.

Froissart, Chronicles, chs. 162–164

The whole number of prisoners was twice that of their English captors. "That day," says Froissart, "whosoever took any prisoner, he was clear his, and might quit or ransom him at his pleasure. All such as were there with the prince were all made rich with honor and goods, as well by ransoming of prisoners as by winning of gold, silver, plate, jewels, that were there found." After the battle the Black Prince entertained the captive king, waiting upon him in person at table. But for all this chivalrous display, the English shrewdly extracted full advantage from the victory; and pending the acceptance of their terms, King John was carried prisoner to London, where for four years he was detained in honorable captivity.

Froissart, Chronicles, ch. 166

198. Internal disorders in France (1356–1360)

France meanwhile was in a deplorable condition. The government was carried on by the king's eldest son, Charles — the first of the heirs-apparent of France to bear the title of Dauphin, derived from the Dauphiné just east of the river Rhone, which was annexed to France in 1349. Charles was an untried youth, and demoralization per-

vaded every branch of the government. The difficulties of his position made necessary the frequent assembling of the Estates-General, and the death and captivity of so many of the nobles threw the preponderance in these sessions into the hands of the Third Estate, or representatives of the towns. Their leader was Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchant guild of Paris; and their demands embraced a complete reform of the government, including a reduction of the privileges of the nobles and a commission of administration appointed by the Estates. When the Dauphin restored some dispossessed officials, Marcel gathered a mob and slew them in the Dauphin's presence. This was too much for moderate men; a reaction followed, and when the Dauphin brought troops to reduce his rebellious capital, Paris stood almost alone.

FRENCH NOBLE, 14TH CENTURY.

At this time (1358) there was added to the other miseries of France a great rising of the peasants, called the Jacquerie from their nickname of "Jacques Bonhomme." The peasants had suffered most from the war and the pestilence; and to their dull minds the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers were explainable only on the theory that the nobles had betrayed France. The movement was confined to a few provinces in northern France, but it was characterized by the utmost ferocity; the peasants seemed turned by their sufferings into wild beasts, and the nobles retaliated in like manner. The revolt was soon put down, and the lot of the peasant, who was now dreaded as well as despised, became worse than before.

Marcel's policy became steadily more narrowly selfish. He tried to ally Paris with the revolted peasants; then he plotted

to put the city into the hands of Charles the Bad of Navarre, who claimed the throne against both King John and Edward III. While opening the gates to admit Charles, Marcel was assassinated (July, 1358), and the Dauphin's authority over the city was restored. In spite of his mistakes and failures, Marcel is memorable as "the leader of the most notable attempt, before 1789, to give to France a constitutional form of government."

A treaty with England was at last concluded at Bretigny in 1360. King John agreed to pay a large money ransom, and Edward III. agreed to abandon his claims to the French crown in return for the confirmation in full sovereignty of his possession of Calais, Ponthieu, and Aquitaine. All questions seemed settled and the war ended by this treaty. Four years later King John died at London, whither he had returned on a visit of mingled business and pleasure.

199. Treaty of Bretigny (1360)

The new king, Charles V. (1364–1380), had as Dauphin gained in experience; as king he is known as Charles "the Wise," and was one of the ablest rulers of France in the Middle Ages. He was no knight-errant, but a shrewd, practical statesman, who knew how to select good generals, and fought no useless battles. During the first five years of his reign, peace was kept with England, the abuses of government were remedied, and the country was rid of the "free companies" of mercenaries, who in spite of the peace preyed upon the inhabitants.

200. Charles V. and Du Guesclin (1364–1380)

After France had thus been strengthened, a pretext was found for reasserting suzerainty over Aquitaine, and in 1369 war with England began once more. Every advantage now was on the side of France. England was tired of the war, Edward III. was old and enfeebled (he died in 1377), and the Black Prince was burdened with a disease which carried him off the year before his father. The command of the sea was with the French, thanks to the fleet of the king of Castile, whom Charles aided against a rival supported by the English.

Finally, the French now had a first-class general in Bertrand du Guesclin, a low-born Breton who cast aside the old knightly traditions of warfare, used professional soldiers instead of the disorderly feudal levies, and carried on a cautious campaign of rapid maneuvers, stratagems, and ambuscades. As a result, place after place fell into French hands; and in 1375, when a truce was made, Calais in the north and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south were the only important places left to the English.

French Ship, 14th Century.

This, however, proved the limit of Charles's success. In 1380 both he and his general, Du Guesclin, died. His heir, Charles VI. (1380–1422), was a sickly boy, who became insane soon after attaining manhood. The regency during his minority was in the hands of his uncles, of whom the leading spirit was the Duke of Burgundy. The new nobles of the royal house proved as selfishly feudal and as opposed to the interest of the monarchy as were the old nobility; France groaned under their oppressions, and ineffectual rebellions of the cities broke out. Fortunately for France, England also experienced the evils of a regency and internal dissensions under the son of the Black Prince, Richard II. (1377–1399); and the war languished, with long intervals of truce, until 1414.

201. Lull in the war (1380–1414)

Civil war meanwhile broke out among the French princes, to lend a deeper shade of horror to events. The rivals for control during the insanity of the king were the king's cousin,

John of Burgundy (who from his mother inherited Flanders and Artois), and the king's younger brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans. In 1407 this contest reached a climax when the taciturn and surly Burgundy caused the murder of his opponent. For a time the adherents of Orleans accepted a reconciliation; but in 1411 all restraint was thrown off, and civil war began. From the principal leader of their party the Orleanists were called Armagnacs, their opponents being Burgundians. In these struggles no quarter was given, and both parties devastated the country. The people were crushed with taxes, while the princes indulged in wild extravagance; the result was a rising of the Parisian mob (called "Cabochiens," from one of its leaders), whose brutal excesses disgraced the sober reform movement which they accompanied. Both Armagnacs and Burgundians sought aid from England, where Richard II. had been deposed, and Henry IV. (1399–1413), of the Lancastrian house, had acquired the crown. Upon the death of Henry IV., his son, the English national hero Henry V. (1413–1422) became king; and to quiet dynastic struggles he revived the claims of Edward III. to the French throne.

202. Burgundians and Armagnacs (1407–1415)

In 1415 Henry V. led an army into Normandy, whence, after some successes, he marched northward toward Calais. At Agincourt, near Crécy, his way was blocked by a great French army composed mainly of Armagnacs, who at that moment were in control of the government. The French seem to have profited neither by the disasters of King John nor the successes of Charles V. and Du Guesclin. Again their forces were chiefly dismounted knights, weighted with their heavy armor, and packed so closely in the narrow defile that they scarcely had room to wield their swords; to make matters worse, the field was newly harrowed and ankle-deep with mud. Well might King Henry say, the night before the battle, that he "wished not for a single man more" to share

203. Battle of Agincourt (1415)

the glory! A third English victory, equal to those won at Crécy and Poitiers, was the result.

Instead of uniting French parties, the disaster of Agincourt served only to make the feuds of the princes more bitter.

204. Confusion in France (1415–1429) In 1419 a conference took place between the Dauphin Charles, now head of the Armagnac party, and John of Burgundy, at which the latter was treacherously slain by the Orleanists. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, put himself unreservedly on the English side. In 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes by which the shameless French queen, Isabella, disinherited her son the Dauphin, and married her daughter Catherine to Henry V. of England, with provision that the latter should rule France and become its king after the death of her husband, Charles VI.

Against this treaty the Dauphin protested. Southern France remained loyal to him, but the north, including the capital, passed into English hands. Henry's rule in France, however, was short, as he died in 1422; seven weeks later the pathetic life of Charles VI. also came to an end. The heir of both kingdoms, by the treaty of Troyes, was a babe less than a year old, Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Catherine. Such sentiment of nationality as existed in France supported the claims of the Dauphin, now called Charles VII. (1422–1461). But his resources were slender, and his court at Bourges was distracted by the quarrels and violence of his adherents; during the first seven years of his reign, therefore, little progress was made in driving the enemy from the realm. The English cause also was weakened by quarrels: the young king's uncle, the Duke of Bedford, who acted as regent in France, was an able soldier and wise statesman; but another uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, was a selfish politician, whose ambitious schemes seriously menaced the English alliance with Burgundy.

In 1429 a new factor entered the struggle in the person of Joan of Arc. Joan was an uneducated peasant maid of north-

eastern France, of a mystical religious temperament. After reaching the age of fourteen she began to hear "voices" and see visions of saints and angels, in which she believed implicitly. She was much affected by the troubles of the time. When she was seventeen her "voices" urged her to go to the Dauphin, lead him to Rheims to be crowned, and deliver France. After much difficulty she reached the king's court, in male attire; and she so impressed Charles that he gave her an opportunity to show the reality of her powers. The city of Orleans at this time was beset by the English; if it fell, it would carry with it the ruin of the French cause. Equipped with armor and a holy banner, the maid set out with a small force, and entered Orleans in April, 1429. Blow after blow was struck against the English, and within ten days the siege was raised. The French seemed suddenly to have become invincible. Success followed success, until in July Joan led Charles to Rheims for coronation at the place where his ancestors had been crowned, and thus accomplished her mission.

205. Joan of Arc (1429–1431)

HOME OF JOAN OF ARC.

The sculptures over the entrance date from the restoration of the house in 1481.

After this, Charles was received with enthusiasm; but the successes won by Joan aroused the jealousy of Charles's advisers, and they did all they could to thwart her further plans. In September she was wounded while leading an attack on

Paris. In May of the next year she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians, and eventually turned over to the English. To break the spell of her deeds, she was accused of sorcery and heresy and tried before the bishop of Beauvais, an English partisan. Her condemnation was a foregone conclusion; and at Rouen in May, 1431, — wearing the cap of those condemned by the Inquisition, on which were painted devils and flames, with the words, "Relapsed heretic, apostate, and idolater," — she was burned at the stake. The nobility and purity of her character were such as to impress even her enemies. "We are lost; we have burned a saint!" were the words of an Englishman who witnessed her execution. The greatest blot on the fame of Charles VII. is the ingratitude he showed in making no effort to rescue from death the brave girl who, more than any one else, saved for him the throne of France.

206. Close of the war (1431–1455)

The influence of Joan of Arc survived her in the energy with which the war was continued. In 1435 Philip of Burgundy abandoned the English cause, on condition that he be given certain lands and be freed from all homage to Charles VII. during his lifetime; and France was thus once more united. A series of reforms also gave to the crown a standing army, a force of improved artillery, — for cannon were becoming effective, — and a permanent revenue. While the French government was thus strengthened, England was weakened by the death of Bedford, the insanity of King Henry VI., and the growth of the dissensions among the English princes which developed into the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485). In these circumstances the expulsion of the English from France was only a question of time. In 1436 Paris surrendered to one of Charles's generals, the populace crying, "Peace, the king, and the Duke of Burgundy!" In 1445–1451 Normandy and the greater part of Aquitaine were conquered. Finally, in 1453, Bordeaux surrendered. Only Calais remained in English hands, to be kept for a century longer. The

Hundred Years' War, with its enormous injury, both material and moral, to both parties, came quietly to an end.

Instead of winning for the English crown the whole of France, the Hundred Years' War thus lost for it possessions which had been held by English kings since the accession of Henry II. (1154). For France the struggle had these results: (1) the French king was delivered from the anomaly

ENTRY OF CHARLES VII. INTO PARIS.
From a miniature in a 15th century manuscript.

of having a rival king among his vassals; (2) the power of the crown was consolidated into almost absolute monarchy; (3) a national sentiment was born, which ultimately led to the complete nationality of to-day. But against these gains must be balanced fearful losses inflicted upon land and people, the check to population, and the brutalization of long-continued and unrestrained warfare.

The Hundred Years' War between England and France began in 1337 and lasted until 1453. It was caused by friction

between the two countries in Aquitaine, Scotland, and Flanders, and became desperate as a result of the claim advanced by Edward III. to the French throne. It comprised three periods of active warfare: (1) In the first (1337–1360) occurred the great English victories of Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), the terrible ravages of the Black Death (1347–1351), and the uprisings of Marcel and the Jacquerie (1358); it closed with the treaty of Bretigny (1360). (2) The second period (1369–1380) was marked by the wise leadership of the French king, Charles V., and his general, Du Guesclin, which brought the greater part of the English possessions into French hands. (3) The third period (1415–1453) saw Henry V.'s great victory at Agincourt (1415), the treaty of Troyes (1420), the relief of Orleans by Joan of Arc, and the final expulsion of the English from Aquitaine in 1453.

207. Summary

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Is the battle of Sluys to be classed as a real naval battle? (2) What advantage did it give the English? (3) What was it that enabled the English to win at Crécy and Poitiers? (4) Of what value was Calais to the English? (5) How did the Black Death produce a decline of the manorial system? (6) Was King John of France a good soldier? Was he a good general? (7) What effect would the excesses of Stephen Marcel have on the attitude of future kings toward the Estates-General? (8) What change was to be made in the position of the English in Aquitaine by the treaty of Bretigny? (9) Which side was responsible for the renewal of the war? (10) Was the treaty of Troyes binding on France? (11) Why did Joan of Arc experience such difficulty in obtaining an opportunity to show her powers? (12) Was it only jealousy of her that led Charles's advisers to oppose her plans? (13) Why were the English determined to prove her a heretic? (14) Was it a good or a bad thing for England that it lost its possessions in France? (15) Would it have been an advantage to the two countries to have had the same king?

Search topics

(16) Real causes of the Hundred Years' War. (17) The Black Prince. (18) The English archers, their training and prowess. (19) The Black Death. (20) Rising of the English peasants in 1381. (21) Stephen Marcel. (22) The Jacquerie. (23) Renewal

of the war in 1369. (24) Bertrand du Guesclin. (25) Battle of Agincourt. (26) Joan of Arc. (27) Source of her strength. (28) Attitude of the time towards witchcraft. (29) Reforms of government under Charles VII. (30) Arms, armor, and warfare in the time of the Hundred Years' War. (31) The Dauphiné.

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CHAPTER XV.

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN STATES (1254–1500)

THE fall of the Hohenstaufen house (§ 136) was followed in Germany by the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), when for a score of years the land was practically without a head. Two foreigners — Richard, Duke of Cornwall, and Alfonso X., king of Castile — claimed the throne by election, but neither secured general recognition. The decentralizing forces long at work in Germany seemed completely triumphant. The imperial domains passed into the hands of the princes, so that the Interregnum caused the loss of the imperial revenues as well as a weakening of the imperial prerogatives. The feudal barons, secure in their strong castles, ruled as they pleased; peasants were tortured and oppressed, and merchants were robbed at will; "fist-right" — the rule of the strongest — was the only law the nobles recognized.

208. The Great Interregnum (1254–1273)

The death of Richard of Cornwall in 1272 gave the princes the opportunity to end the Interregnum by a new election. Their choice fell on Rudolph of Hapsburg, a Swabian, from whose poverty no danger to their independence was feared. Rudolph I. (1273–1291) recognized that it was folly for the Emperor to attempt to control Italy, and devoted his attention to building up a family power in Germany; his greatest success was the conquest of Austria, which thenceforth belonged to the Hapsburg house. On his death the princes passed over his son, and chose another "poor count," Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298); but Adolf's attempt to

209. Succession of weak Emperors (1273–1313)

find in an alliance with the lesser nobles and towns a counterpoise to the power of the princes led to his deposition.

Rudolph's son, Albert of Austria (1298–1308), was then elected Emperor, and followed the policies of his father; his reign was cut short by murder — the result of a private quarrel. Once more the princes refused to choose the son of the preceding Emperor, and French influence procured the election of a petty ruler of western Germany, Henry of Luxemburg (p. 252). Abandoning the safe policies of the last three rulers, Henry VII. (1308–1313) revived the imperial pretensions, and wasted his energies on an Italian expedition which cost him his life. The acquisition of Bohemia for his family, by marriage and warfare, was his one substantial gain.

The death of Henry VII. in 1313 was followed by a double election. The right to choose the king of Germany (the future Emperor), originally vested in all freemen, had gradually been restricted, until by the end of the thirteenth century the idea became fixed that there should be just seven persons, constituting an electoral college, who possessed the hereditary right to elect. In 1313 two of the seats in the electoral college were in dispute; and moreover the notion of submission to a constitutional majority was still weak. The Hapsburgs, seeking to regain the power they had lost, procured the election of Frederick of Austria by one section of the electors; while the opposing electors, passing by the house of Luxemburg, chose Louis, Duke of Bavaria. War followed, which ended in the capture of Frederick by his opponent (in the battle of Mühldorf, 1322). For political reasons the Pope, John XXII., refused to recognize Louis; but the national sentiment of Germany rallied to his support. A Diet held at Frankfort in 1338 declared that "he who is elected Emperor or king by the electors of the empire, thereby becomes true king and Emperor . . . without the approval, confirmation, authorization, or consent of

210. Dispute over imperial election (1314–1347)

Thatcher and McNeal, Source Book, 279

the Pope or of any other person"; and Louis was able to maintain himself until his death in 1347.

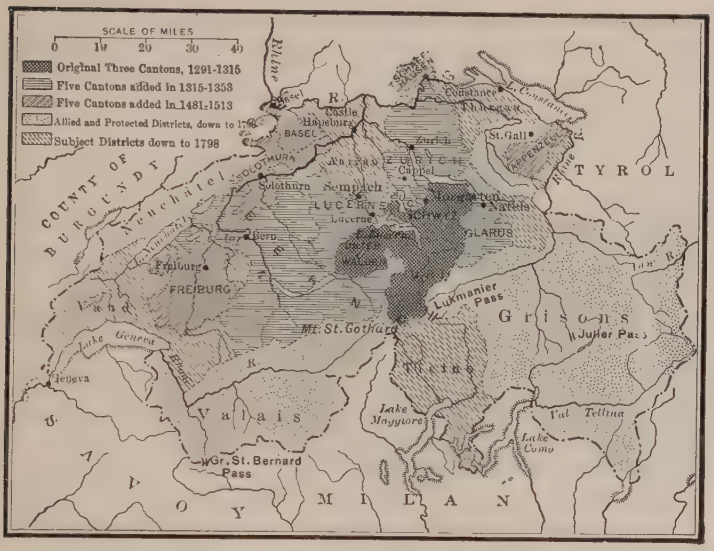
In the last year of Louis's reign, his opponents procured the election of Charles of Bohemia, grandson of Henry VII., as his rival; and eventually Charles received recognition from all Germany. He proved not merely the greatest king of the Luxemburg house, but one of the wisest rulers produced by Europe in the fourteenth century. His policy of building up Bohemia, through the promotion of commerce and the founding of a university at Prague, caused one of his successors, the Emperor Maximilian, to say that he "was the father of Bohemia, but the stepfather of the empire."

211. Charles IV.: the Golden Bull (1356)

This charge was based on Charles's persistent refusal to be drawn into Italian politics, and on the famous Golden Bull issued by him in 1356. In this document the seven electoral votes were definitely decided to belong to the three great Rhineland archbishops — of Mainz, Cologne (in German, *Köln*), and Treves (in German, *Trier*); and to four secular princes — the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg (map, pp. 252, 253). To prevent future disputes, their territories were made indivisible, with succession to males only. The right of coining money and of trying cases without appeal was given to the electors, who were placed above all other German princes. This arrangement made the constitution of Germany for centuries a federation instead of a centralized monarchy.

While the central power in Germany was growing feeble, evidence was given, in the rise of the Swiss Confederation, of sturdy vitality in the people. Many legends, such as that of which William Tell is the hero, have arisen concerning the origin of the Swiss Confederation; but historians have shown these to be pure myths. The real beginning of that important movement was the desire of the peasants of the three Swiss mountain cantons — Uri, Schwyz,

212. The Swiss Confederation (1291–1388)



GROWTH OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.

and Unterwalden — to secure their independence against their powerful neighbor, the Count of Hapsburg, who claimed lordship over them. In 1291 they formed their league, "to aid and defend each other . . . against every enemy;" as yet the confederation embraced only the three "forest cantons," and provided no means of federal government. The preoccupation of the Hapsburgs with Austria left these hardy mountaineers for a time in peace; and when (in 1315) an attempt was made to subdue them, the Austrian forces were signally routed at Morgarten.

Soon after, Louis of Bavaria, who was hostile to the Hapsburg house, confirmed the immediate dependence of the cantons on the empire. Other cantons then joined the confederation, until (by 1353) their number had been raised to "the eight old places," including the prosperous cities of Zurich, Lucerne, and Bern. But danger from the Hapsburg lords still continued, and in 1386 a second great battle was

fought at Sempach: in this battle the confederates were again victorious; the feudal forces of the Hapsburgs were defeated by the rude mountaineers, and their leader slain. After a third battle (at Näfels, in 1388) the independent position of the Swiss was secured; and thenceforth to the close of the Middle Ages their league grew in numbers and in definiteness of internal organization, without hindrance from the imperial power or the Hapsburg house.

Castle Hapsburg. (From an old print.)

213. Rise of modern states

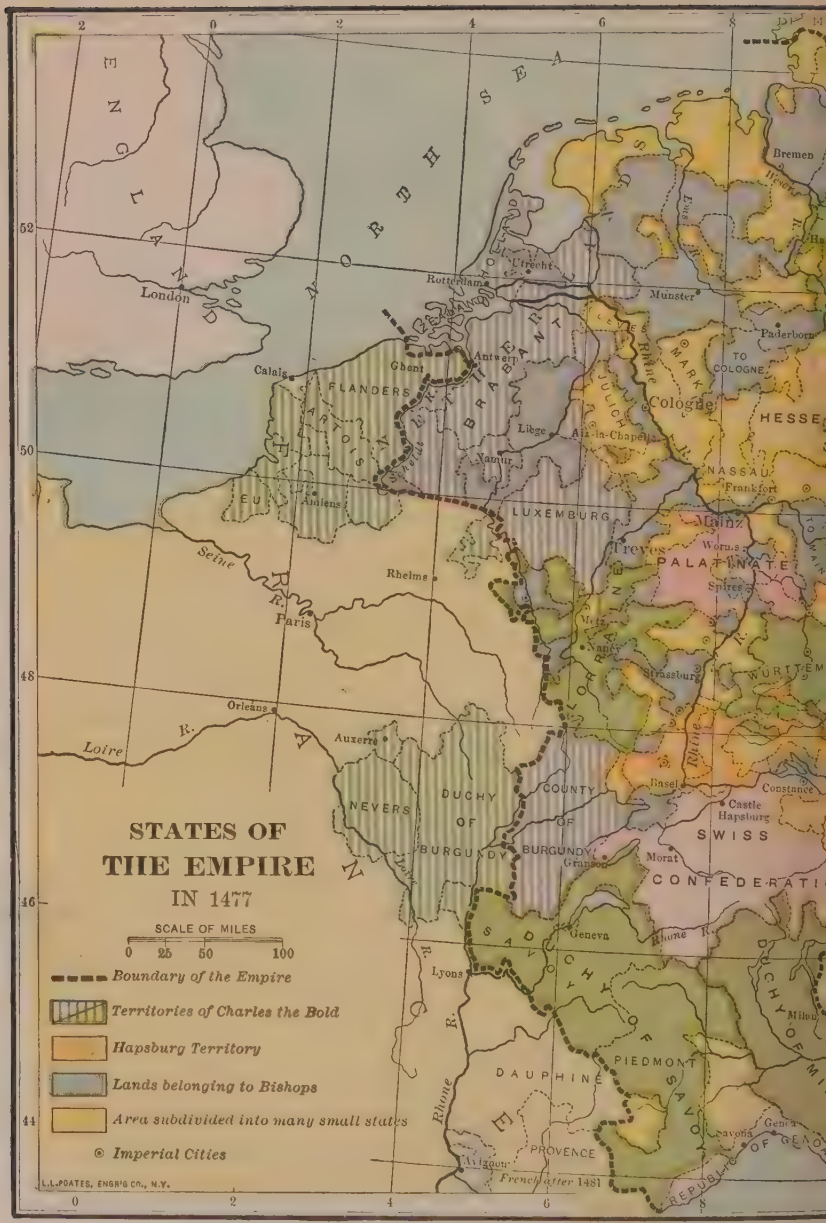
In government a momentous change was taking place with the rise of modern states. In the early Middle Ages there existed the two great world powers — ideal and often visionary — the papacy and the empire, to which in theory all owed allegiance. In the second half of the fifteenth century both these powers were broken, and lingered as mere ghosts of their former selves. Then, feudalism was the basis of union in the state; now, feudalism as a political force was dead. Then, the nations of Europe had not been formed, and governments were characterized by provincial separation, by weakness of central control, by absence of legislative, police, and taxing functions, and by undeveloped machinery for such powers as were exercised; now, in several countries, modern states had arisen, strong in their national support, with enlarged powers and differentiated organs, strengthened by a body of well-ordered law, and controlling adequately their resources of men and money.

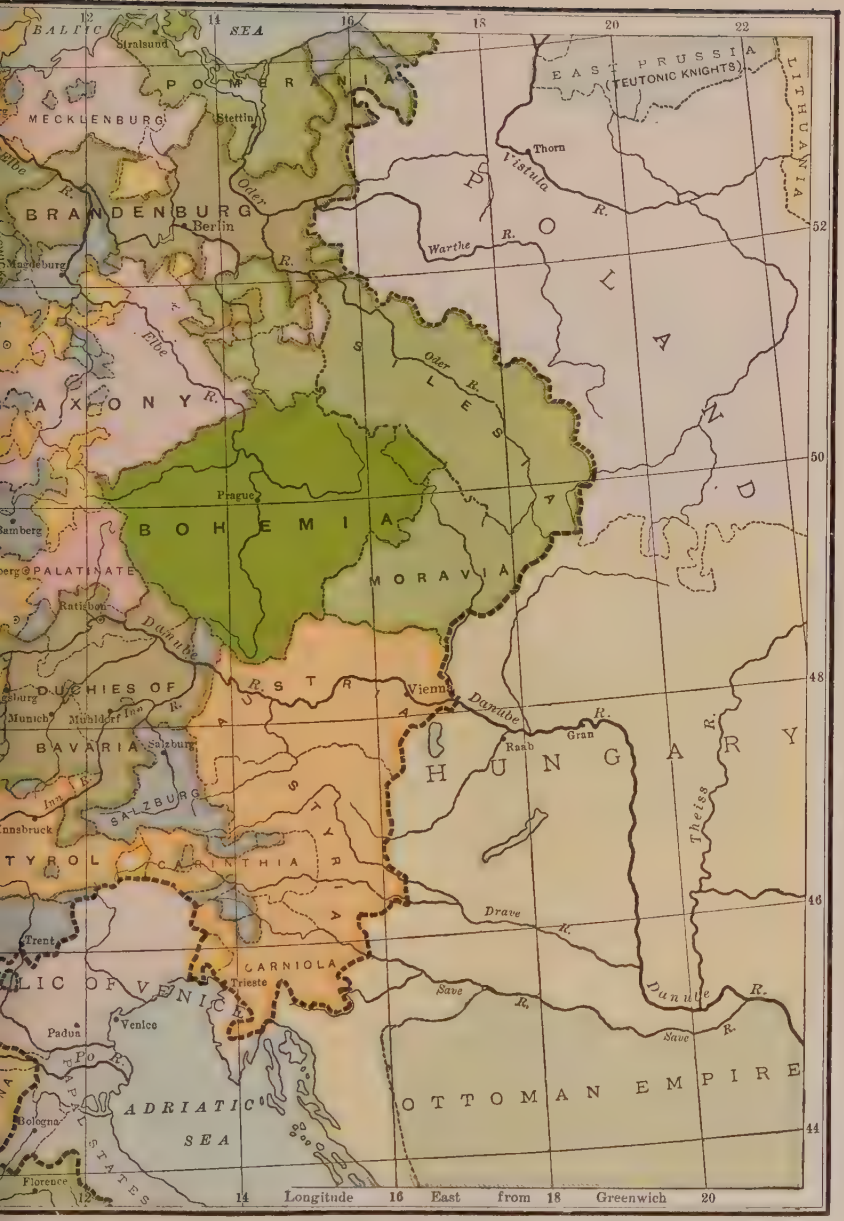
Of such states, France is the best type. Under Charles VII. (1422–1461), after the close of the Hundred Years' War, the government not only recovered from disorder but took on new strength; and under his son, Louis XI. (1461–1483), the development continued. In character, Louis XI. was unscrupulous, cruel, and fond of cunning intrigue. His chief object was to wipe out the last traces of feudal independence and make the monarchical power supreme. At the beginning of his reign he was met by a formidable league, headed by the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and his own brother Charles of Berri; although this was called the "League of the Public Weal," the peace extorted from the king in 1465 showed that selfish interests predominated. On the rise of new difficulties, Louis, in 1469, rashly sought to try his powers of diplomacy in a personal interview with Charles the Bold, who had now succeeded his father as Duke of Burgundy: at this moment the Burgundian city of Liège revolted, stirred up by the agents of the French king; Charles was furious, and Louis escaped from his perilous position only by a second humiliating submission. The opportune death of the Duke of Berri, in 1472, finally broke the coalition of princes and ended open hostilities.

214. France under Louis XI. (1461–1483)

Charles of Burgundy thenceforth found his energies diverted in a new direction. As ruler of the duchy and county of Burgundy, of the county of Flanders, and of a number of imperial fiefs in the Netherlands, Charles was one of the greatest princes of his day; but his territories were scattered and inharmonious (map, p. 252), and were held by widely differing titles. The ambition of his life was to consolidate these, and secure for himself the title of king. The pursuit of this object led him more and more into German politics, and ultimately he came into conflict with the Swiss confederates. In this war he was signally defeated at Granson and Morat in 1476; and a little later (January, 1477)

215. Death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1477)


STATES OF
THE EMPIRE
IN 1477
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Boundary of the Empire
Territories of Charles the Bold
Hapsburg Territory
Lands belonging to Bishops
Area subdivided into many small states
Imperial Cities
L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
London
Calais
FLANDERS
Ghent
Antwerp
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Munster
Bremen
Paderborn
TO COLOGNE
Cologne
HESSE
Liege
Aix-la-Chapelle
Namur
NASSAU
Frankfort
Amiens
LUXEMBURG
Trevis
Worms
PALATINATE
Spires
Rhelms
Seine R.
Paris
Strassburg
Orleans
Loire R.
Auxerre
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
Basel
Constance
Castle Hapsburg
SWISS CONFEDERATI
Morat
Grandson
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lyons
DAUPHINE
PIEDMONT
Milan
Savoia
PROVENCE
Avignon
French after 1481
REPUBLIC OF GENOA


BALTIC SEA
Stralsund
POMERANIA
MECKLENBURG
Stettin
Elbe R.
Oder R.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Magdeburg
EAST PRUSSIA
(TEUTONIC KNIGHTS)
LITHUANIA
Thorn
Vistula R.
Warthe R.
POLAND
SILESIA
Oder R.
Elbe R.
SAXONY
Prague
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Bamberg
PALATINATE
Ratisbon
Danube R.
DUCHIES OF
Munich
Mühldorf
Inn R.
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Vienna
Danube R.
Raab
Gran
HUNGARY
Theiss R.
SALZBURG
Innsbruck
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
Trent
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Save R.
Danube R.
Save R.
Padua
Venice
Po R.
ADRIATIC SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bologna
Florence
52
50
48
46
44
12
14
16
18
20
22
Longitude 16 East from 18 Greenwich 20

Charles the Bold met his death at Nancy, at the hands of the Swiss pikemen and halberdiers. Again the lesson was enforced, as at Crécy, that foot soldiers properly armed and handled were more than a match for feudal cavalry.

Louis XI. meanwhile was carrying out unchecked his policy of royal aggrandizement. Charles the Bold left as heir his daughter Mary, who was soon married to Maximilian of Austria; but the duchy of Burgundy and other of Charles's possessions were seized by Louis as king of France, on the ground that they could pass only to male heirs. In other directions the royal domain was rounded out under Louis XI., until it became almost coterminous with France itself. The only great feudal domains left outstanding were Brittany and Flanders: the former was finally acquired by marriage early in the sixteenth century; the latter had long been drifting away from France, and in 1526 was surrendered to the empire — to be largely reconquered in the next century.

MARY OF BURGUNDY.
From the painting by R. van Bruges.

Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., was thirteen years of age when his father's death made him king of France. During his minority the government was ably administered

MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA.
From an old print.

by his sister Anne, whom her father had cynically styled "the least foolish woman in the world."

216. Charles VIII. of France (1483–1498)

Upon coming of age, Charles, in 1494, led an army into Italy to enforce claims to the kingdom of Naples which he had inherited from the house of Anjou (§ 136). The weakness of the mutually hostile Italian states was strikingly revealed by this expedition; it was almost a triumphal procession, and Naples fell with scarcely a blow. But soon Charles was called back by news of a formidable league formed in his rear by Milan, Venice, the Pope, Spain, and the Emperor. Before his death (in 1498) Naples was again lost to France, and soon passed into the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon, who already ruled Sicily. The expedition of Charles VIII. was nevertheless of great importance: it marks the end of the period of national isolation, and introduces a period of international leagues and warfare; more especially it marks the beginning of a conflict for the control of Italy between France and Spain, which lasted until 1559, and profoundly affected the development of the German Reformation.

217. England: Wars of the Roses (1455–1485)

England from 1455 to 1485 was torn by the Wars of the Roses, in which the rival houses of York and Lancaster contested for the crown. The Yorkist king Edward IV. (1461–1483) gave England a strong, capable rule in the intervals of peace; but after his death his two little sons

were murdered in London Tower by their uncle, who usurped the crown as Richard III. In 1485 Richard was slain at the battle of Bosworth, and his opponent of the house of Tudor became king as Henry VII. (1485–1509). The Tudor kings became almost despotic; but the nation gladly supported their rule for the sake of the peace and good order which it brought.

SPANISH STATES, 1266–1492.

218. Rise of Spain (1469–1516)

The development of Spain in the fifteenth century was little short of marvelous. During the Middle Ages its history lies outside the general history of western Europe, its chief features being (1) the gradual decay of the Mohammedan power (§ 12), which passed to the Moors (descendants of African Berbers mixed with other peoples), and (2) the rise of the Christian states of Castile and Leon, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre: by 1266 the Moors were confined to the kingdom of Granada, where they remained in comparative peace for more than two centuries. In 1469 the marriage of Ferdinand

of Aragon and Isabella of Castile laid the basis of the permanent union of these countries under a single head; then in 1492 Granada was taken, and the long crusade against the Mohammedans was brought to an end.

Portugal, meanwhile, for more than half a century, had been taking the lead in Atlantic discovery, and in the search for an ocean route to India; and the exertions of Prince Henry the Navigator (died 1460) led successively to the discovery of the Madeira Islands, the Canary Islands, the Azores, and Cape Verde. In 1486 the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1498 Vasco da Gama completed the work by reaching India. Seeking to anticipate this result, Queen Isabella of Castile, in 1492, consented to fit out the expedition with which Columbus unwittingly discovered the New World. To both Spain and Portugal the result of these efforts was the acquisition of vast colonial dependencies, and a flood of wealth.

Sicily had been annexed to Aragon since 1409; and the failure of the French kings to maintain their hold on Naples gave Spain that kingdom also (confirmed by treaty in 1504), thus making Spain the dominant power in Italy. At a later date, fortunate marriages joined to Spain's other possessions the Burgundian Netherlands, and the Hapsburg lands in Germany. The church in Spain was purified and the monarchical power strengthened by a reform movement under Archbishop Ximenes (§ 233). This marvelous growth made Spain, in the sixteenth century, the wonder of Europe.

219. The empire under the Luxemburg line (1378–1437)

Charles IV., the author of the Golden Bull, was succeeded (in 1378) both as king of Bohemia and as German Emperor by his eldest son Wenzel, who proved drunken and incapable, and was declared deposed as Emperor by the electors in 1400. After a period of confusion, in which several claimants were raised up to contest Wenzel's title to the imperial crown, his younger brother Sigismund, who by

marriage was already king of Hungary, was recognized as ruler of Germany; and after Wenzel's death (in 1419), Sigismund succeeded him as king of Bohemia also: from his coronation as Emperor at Rome (in 1433) dates the use of the double-headed eagle as the imperial ensign.

Imperial Arms after Sigismund's Reign.

From iron work in the State Museum at Frankfort.

Sigismund's rule in Bohemia was long interrupted by a national uprising of the Czechs, due to his part in the burning for heresy of John Huss, the greatest religious teacher of Bohemia (§ 228). Under their blind leader Ziska and his successor Prokop (Procopius), the Bohemians not only successfully resisted crusade after crusade sent against them, but devastated large areas of Germany, until dissensions in their ranks permitted the triumph of their Catholic foes.

The death of the Emperor Sigismund, in 1437, brought to an end the Luxemburg line; and in the person of his son-in-law, Albert II. (1438–1439), the Hapsburg line for a third time came to the throne, of which it retained possession continuously for three centuries.

220. Hapsburg line restored (1438–1519)

Frederick III. (1440–1493), cousin of Albert, was the last Emperor to be crowned at Rome. The weakness of the imperial power did not permit him to take an active part in the affairs of Europe; and indeed for twenty-five years he remained secluded on his hereditary estates without visiting other parts of Germany; but his long reign and patient persistence laid the foundations for the great growth of the Hapsburg power. For years the five vowels "A · E · I · O · U" appeared inscribed on all his buildings and possessions: these are interpreted to mean, *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo* (in

German, *Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan*) — that is, "the whole world is subject to Austria."

In the latter part of Frederick's reign and the earlier portion of that of his son, Maximilian I. (1493–1519), attempts were made by the electors to carry through an aristocratic reform of the constitution. The old Diet, or Reichstag, was to be developed into an effective assembly, meeting annually, in

TOWN HALL OF THE FREE IMPERIAL CITY OF FRANKFORT.
Present condition; built 1405–1413. Here the imperial elections were held in the sixteenth century.

three houses composed of the electors, princes, and representatives of the imperial cities; and at the same time an efficient system of courts, and an administrative council which was not dependent on the Emperor, were to be instituted. These reforms would have done something to end the anarchy of Germany, but only by substituting an aristocratic federation of the princes for the nominal rule of the Emperor. The movement failed, and the absence of any coercive central authority

continued to be one of the features of German political organization: this, together with the rivalry of Spain and France in Italy, proved of the utmost importance in allowing Protestantism the opportunity to grow and spread.

221. The Eastern Empire (1261–1439)

While the Holy Roman Empire of the West was becoming, in the language of Voltaire (an eighteenth-century Frenchman) "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire," the Eastern Empire came to an end altogether. The downfall of the Latin power at Constantinople, in 1261, restored the Greek Empire, with dominions in both Europe and Asia (see p. 138), but its vitality was enfeebled. On the north and west its territory was curtailed by the development of the Slavic states of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria; its capital was disquieted by the rivalry of Genoese and Venetian traders, and by never-ceasing palace intrigues and revolutions; more menacing still was the advent of a new and more formidable branch of the Turks in Asia Minor.

The newcomers were the Ottoman Turks, so called from their sultan, Othman, under whose father they first appear in western Asia in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The conquest of Nicæa, in 1330, brought them to the Bosphorus, and made them the dominant power in Asia Minor. A few years later they crossed the Hellespont and began a series of European conquests which culminated (1361) in the capture of Adrianople — thenceforth for nearly a century their capital. The strong walls of Constantinople long withstood them; but the Eastern Emperors were forced to pay tribute. In another way also the Christian populations contributed to their own subjugation: each year the Turks demanded a fixed number of children, who were educated by them in the Mohammedan faith, and trained to fight as their famous "new troops," or Janizaries.

The overthrow of the Ottoman sultan, in 1402, by the great Tartar leader Timour (Tamerlane), only checked for a time the Turkish conquests. To gain assistance against them, the

Greek Emperor and patriarch agreed to a submission of the Greek Church to the Latin, at a council held in Italy in 1438–1439; but neither the submission nor the assistance was real.

In 1453 Sultan Mohammed II. began the final siege of Constantinople with an overwhelming force. Mediæval and modern appliances were used together, the Turkish cannon, constructed by foreign engineers, being of larger caliber than ever before used. The Greek Emperor, Constantine Palæologus, made an heroic defense; but his people held aloof in sullen bigotry because of new negotiations for union with the Latin West. After fifty-three days' siege, a final assault was ordered, and the Janizaries forced the gates (May 29, 1453). The Greek Emperor was slain after a desperate resistance; the city was given up to plunder, and thousands of the population were enslaved.

222. Fall of Constantinople (1453)

MOSQUE OF ST. SOPHIA.

From a photograph. The tall minarets are Mohammedan additions.

The great Church of St. Sophia was robbed of its treasures, its frescoes and mosaics were whitewashed over by the puritanic zeal of the Turks, and it was converted into a Mohammedan mosque. The Eastern Empire, after surviving the Roman Empire in the West for a thousand years, came to an end. Constantinople became the capital of the Turkish dominions; but the Christian population was contemptuously tolerated, and before the end of the reign of Mohammed II. the city enjoyed more real prosperity than had been its lot for several centuries.

223. Summary

After the Great Interregnum (1254–1273), Germany became in reality a confederation of many states, and the strength of the Emperor depended largely upon the extent of his family possessions; with Frederick III. (1440–1493) the Hapsburgs of Austria secured almost hereditary possession of the imperial throne, and laid the foundations of their great family power. In France the Hundred Years' War was followed by a rapid recovery of the monarchy, which made Louis XI. (1461–1483) practically despotic; his son, Charles VIII., by his attempt to conquer the kingdom of Naples (1494), began a series of wars which lasted for many years and had profound results. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, planned to unite his dominions into a kingdom between France and Germany; but he was defeated and slain by the Swiss confederates (1477), and his plan came to naught. England, in the fifteenth century, experienced the civil Wars of the Roses (1455–1485). Spain rose rapidly in importance, through its union by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon (1469), the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada (1492), the hold which it acquired upon southern Italy (1504), and its new-found empire in the Indies (America). In the East, Christian Europe was curtailed by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the final fall of the Eastern Empire (1453). The development of modern states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was of great importance; but even more momentous was the history of the church and the intellectual changes of the period, which are treated in the next chapter.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) To what body connected with the papacy does the imperial electoral college correspond? (2) What advantages had the Swiss in their struggle for independence? (3) What advantages had the Hapsburgs? (4) By what right did Louis XI. of France claim the duchy of Burgundy after 1477? (5) In what respects did the

German constitution at the close of the Middle Ages resemble that of the United States under the old Articles of Confederation? (6) What peoples kindred to the Ottomans had preceded them in European history? (7) Why did the West not come to the assistance of Constantinople in 1453? (8) How did an Englishman (Richard of Cornwall) come to claim the German throne? (9) Why were the English civil wars of the fifteenth century called the "Wars of the Roses"?

Search topics

(10) The imperial electoral college. (11) Origin of the Swiss Confederation. (12) Battle of Morgarten. (13) John Ziska and the Bohemian wars. (14) Character of Louis XI. of France. (15) Charles the Bold of Burgundy. (16) Expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy. (17) Conquest of Spain from the Moors. (18) Character of Maximilian I. of Germany. (19) Proposed reform of the German constitution in the time of Maximilian. (20) Ottoman Turks. (21) Incidents of the fall of Constantinople. (22) Compare the states of Europe in 1500 with those in 800.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE GREAT CHURCH COUNCILS AND THE RENAISSANCE (1300–1517)

In the history of the church the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw successively (1) a seventy years' "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy in France, (2) a schism which divided the nations of western Europe in their church allegiance for forty years, and (3) a series of great church councils which sought to wrest power from the hands of the Pope and to remedy a number of church abuses.

224. The Popes at Avignon (1305–1376)

The "Babylonian Captivity" was the result of the triumph of Philip IV. of France over Pope Boniface VIII. (§ 187); it lasted from 1305 to 1376, during which time the Popes resided at Avignon on the river Rhone. The identification of the papacy with one of the monarchies of Europe inevitably injured it with the others. When England entered upon its long war with France, it treated the papacy as a French ally, refused the tribute which John had agreed to pay, and passed statutes forbidding papal appointments to English benefices and appeals to papal courts (§ 171). In Germany it was the feeling that the papacy was the organ of France that rallied the national sentiment about Louis of Bavaria, and led the Diet to put forth its declaration that the Pope had no right of confirmation or rejection over the imperial election (§ 210).

Still more significant was the appearance of writings attacking the theoretical grounds of the papal power. In the *Defender of the Peace*, by Marsiglio of Padua, a partisan of Louis, sovereignty is claimed for the people, the clergy are confined

to spiritual functions without power of excommunication or other coercive authority, and the rights of the state are asserted against the papacy. In these principles we find "the whole essence of the political and religious theory which separates modern times from the Middle Ages." *Poole, Wycliffe and Movements for Reform, 35*

The threatened loss of the Papal States through municipal revolts and the encroachments of tyrants brought the papacy back to Rome in 1377. Pope Gregory XI. died the next year; and in the election which followed, the Roman mob, dissatisfied with the series of French Popes residing abroad, demanded "A Roman Pope, or at least an Italian!" The majority of the cardinals were French, but their own dissensions and the fear of mob violence led them to choose a Neapolitan, Urban VI. Within a few months, Urban's rough violence and obstinacy led the cardinals to repent of their choice; and on the ground of mob intimidation they then tried to set aside his election, and chose in his stead a Genevan, who took the name Clement VII. and set up his papacy at Avignon.

225. The Great Schism (1378–1417)

A schism in the church was thus produced which lasted for forty years. "All our West land," wrote the Englishman Wyclif, "is with that one Pope or that other, and he that is with that one, hateth the other with all his. . . . Some men say that here is the Pope in Avignon, for he was well chosen; and some say that he is yonder at Rome, for he was first chosen." France and the Spanish kingdoms supported the Avignon Popes, while Germany, England, and Scandinavia adhered to Urban VI. and his successors. *Arnold, Works of Wyclif, II. 401–402*

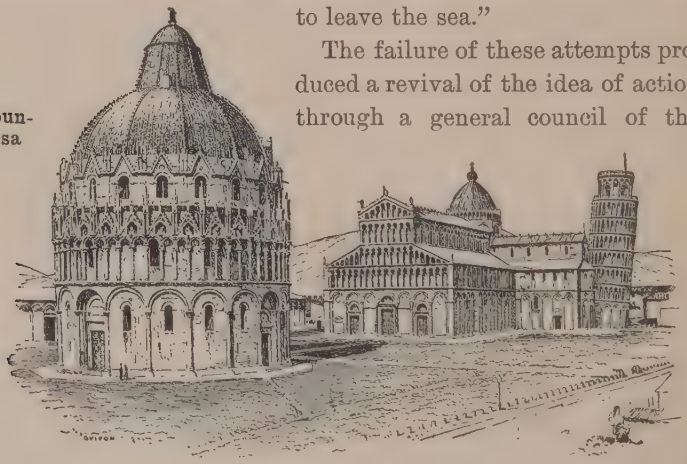
Since French influence was largely responsible for the schism, it was fitting that France should take the lead in efforts to heal it. On the advice of the University of Paris, the French government tried to organize a movement to compel both Popes to abdicate by withdrawing from allegiance to either: but Charles VI. of France was subject to insanity,

and Wenzel of Germany was a confirmed drunkard; and the attempt at coercion came to nothing. The scandal of the schism then forced the Popes themselves to take steps, and an agreement was made for a conference in 1407 at Savona, near Genoa, to bring about a joint abdication. Both Popes professed the greatest zeal for unity, and were probably sincere: but the Roman Pope, Gregory XII., was old and vacillating, and his fears were played upon by his ambitious nephews; while the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII., was too tenacious of the rights of the papacy as represented by himself. The conference, therefore, never took place. "One Pope," said a contemporary, "like a land animal, refused to approach the shore; the other, like a water beast, refused to leave the sea."

Creighton, Papacy, I. 213

The failure of these attempts produced a revival of the idea of action through a general council of the church, which was zealously urged by two members of the University of Paris, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson. According to the canon law, only a Pope could summon a council; the cardinals of both Popes, however, abandoned them, and united in calling a council which met at Pisa in 1409,

226. Council of Pisa (1409)



PISA: BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND LEANING TOWER.
Erected 1063–1350.

declared both Popes deposed, and elected a new one, who took the name Alexander V.

Instead of ending the schism, this only added a third claimant for the papacy, for neither Gregory nor Benedict recognized the act of deposition. On the death of Alexander V., in 1410, the cardinals chose as his successor John XXIII., a man of infamous life, but who seemed to have the needed political vigor to make good his position. In 1413 the capture of Rome by the king of Naples forced John to appeal for aid to the Emperor Sigismund; and Sigismund demanded, as the price of his assistance, the summoning on German soil of the Council of Constance, which lasted from November, 1414, to April, 1418.

227. Council of Constance (1414-1418)

All the states of Europe recognized this assembly, and it was thus enabled to succeed where the Council of Pisa had failed. It asserted its authority in the most far-reaching terms, declaring that it had power "immediately from Christ, and all men, of every rank and dignity, even the Pope, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to (1) the faith, (2) the extirpation of the present schism, and (3) the general reformation of the church of God in head and members."

Creighton, Papacy, I. 333

In carrying out this threefold programme, the council condemned the heresies of Wyclif, and burned at the stake John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who headed a movement in Bohemia similar to that of Wyclif in England. Huss had come voluntarily to Constance under a safe conduct from Sigismund, the violation of which was justified by the plea that faith should not be kept with those who are unfaithful to God. Both Huss and Jerome of Prague met their deaths with heroic constancy. This action of the council kindled a religious war, in which the Hussites not merely maintained themselves but carried devastation into the heart of Germany (§ 219).

228. Heresies condemned

In healing the schism the council was more successful than in dealing with heresy. Gregory XII., who represented the

line of Urban VI., sent envoys from his refuge in northern Italy to offer his abdication; and Benedict XIII., now a fugitive in Spain, was deposed and left without a following.

229. The Great Schism healed

John XXIII., who opened the council as president, was appalled by the array of charges brought against his character and life, and after ineffectual efforts to avoid his fate, submitted to deposition as "unworthy, useless, and harmful." Representatives from the five "nations" into which the council was divided were then added to the cardinals, and the united body chose as Pope a Roman cardinal who took the name Martin V. All Western Christendom recognized him, and the schism came to an end (1417).

Of the reform question at Constance, a Catholic historian says: "The great majority of the assembly were of one mind as to the need of reform. 'The whole world, the clergy, all Christian people, know that a reform of the church militant is both necessary and expedient,' exclaims a theologian of the day. . . . But . . . the members of the council were neither clear nor unanimous in their views as to the scope and nature of the reform." A strong party sought to defer the election of the new Pope until after a reform had been effected, but in this they failed. Pope Martin V., after his election, speedily showed "that little was to be expected from him" in this matter. "Neither the isolated measures afterward substituted for the universal reform so urgently required, nor the Concordats [separate agreements] made with Germany, the three Latin nations, and England, sufficed to meet the exigencies of the case, although they produced a certain amount of good."

230. The question of reform

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 202–209

One of the decrees of the Council of Constance provided for the regular summoning of councils in the future; and the continued demand for reform, together with the rout of successive armies of crusaders sent against the heretical Bohemians (§ 219), led to the assembling, in 1431, of the

231. Council of Basel (1431–1449)

Council of Basel. Pope Eugenius IV. soon issued a bull to dissolve the council; "incorrect information and fear of the growing power of councils induced the Pope to take this momentous step, which was a grievous mistake." The council claimed superiority over the Pope, and refused to recognize his decree; and after two years the Pope was forced to yield and revoke the decree of dissolution.

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 287

This council proved far more radical than the one at Constance. The attendance of the higher clergy at Basel dwindled until business was carried on mainly by members of the lower clergy and ecclesiastical adventurers. A hearing was given to the envoys of the Bohemians, and a series of compacts was entered into by which some of their demands were granted, especially the administering to the laity the wine as well as the bread in the Lord's Supper. It was no small gain that heretics should be treated with instead of being repressed by the arm of authority. The compacts, however, failed to end the troubles in Bohemia, and they were annulled by the Pope in 1462.

No adequate results followed the discussion of reform questions at Basel. "Instead of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses, which in many countries had reached a frightful pitch, the diminution of the papal authority and the destruction of the monarchical character of the church became the chief business of the synod." Among the ideas discussed and rejected was the abolition of the requirement of celibacy on the part of the clergy; but certain reforms were agreed upon at Basel, and following these both France and Germany issued "Pragmatic Sanctions" limiting abuses of papal taxation and appointment, which were ultimately withdrawn.

Pastor, History of the Popes, I. 308

In 1437 hostilities again broke out between Pope and council, and Eugenius IV. issued a bull dissolving the council and calling another to meet in Italy. At Basel this step was met by decrees suspending, then deposing, Eugenius; and on November 5, 1439, the schism was renewed by the election of an anti-pope,

who took the name Felix V. No important nation recognized Felix; and after ten years came the downfall of both the Council of Basel and its anti-pope.

232. The papacy after the councils

For the next few years the papacy was engaged — under Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Pius II. — in remedying the damage done by the Great Schism, and in stamping out the last embers of the conciliar movement. The schism had doubled the financial burdens of the church, and reunion had not lessened them; and the demand for the removal of evils and abuses in the church grew stronger as time went on. In vain did Nicholas V. seek, by identifying the papacy with the literary and artistic revival of the fifteenth century, to recover its lost prestige. The effort also of Pius II. (1458–1464), to stir up a crusade against the Turks, only revealed more clearly that, as he himself had said, Europe looked "on Pope and Emperor alike as names in a story or heads in a picture." The mediæval papacy was dead as a political world power equally with the mediæval empire.

In these circumstances the Popes confined themselves largely to looking after the interests of the Papal States. From 1464 to 1521 the sovereign pontiffs[1] may be described as Italian princes, who often united to their powers as head of the church the political craft and perfidy and the looseness of morals which then characterized Italy, and lost sight of the spiritual side of their office. A Catholic historian quotes approvingly this characterization of Alexander VI. (1492–1503), one of the worst of their number: "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism [favoritism to relatives], lastly on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private

Pastor, History of the Popes, IV. 139

[1] Paul II. (1464–1471); Sixtus IV. (1471–1484); Innocent VIII. (1484–1492); Alexander VI. (1492–1503); Julius II. (1503–1513); Leo X. (1513–1521).

life, which made every sort of accusation credible, and brought the papacy into utter discredit, while its authority seemed unimpaired."

Thus the Middle Ages end with the papacy and higher clergy sunk in worldliness; but among the people "the evidence is overwhelming," says a recent Protestant historian, "that the whole mediæval period witnessed a gradual deepening of the hold of religion on life and thought. . . . If the wider interests of religion are had in view, the period just previous to the Reformation witnessed not the lowest decline but the highest development of mediæval Christianity — high enough to be dissatisfied with its state, to feel dimly the inadequacy of its institutions, and the need of their improvement." In Spain, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, was seen a religious movement which particularly testifies to this. There a reform was carried out, on the initiative of Ferdinand and Isabella, and through the agency of Archbishop Ximenes, which purified the Spanish church, and produced a religious revival characterized by strict orthodoxy, limitation of the papal power, and a more rational theology.

233. Spanish awakening

Walker, Reformation, 6

In Italy also a moral and religious revival was begun by the Dominican friar Savonarola (1452–1498) at Florence. His vivid eloquence and commanding personality aroused the people from their frivolity and sensuality, and for a time he swayed the city at will. But unhappily he was led into politics; he took a prominent part in a revolution which temporarily cast out the ruling family of the Medici, and he turned Florence to alliance with the French when Charles VIII. made his raid into Italy (§ 216).

234. Savonarola (1452–1498)

This brought Savonarola into conflict with Pope Alexander VI., whose chief object was to provide a principality in Italy for his son, Cæsar Borgia. This end was pursued by father and son with frank disregard of morality and religion; in-

deed, the Italian writer Machiavelli (1469–1527), in his work entitled *The Prince*, took Cæsar Borgia as a model of that unscrupulous craft which was thought necessary to rule a newly won state. The chief danger to the Pope's designs came from the interference of France in the peninsula, and Florence was the chief supporter of that intervention. The persistence of Savonarola in adhering to the French alliance, his preaching after being excommunicated, and his attacks upon the Pope at length led to his downfall. Although his teachings were in general harmony with the doctrines of the church, Savonarola was condemned as a heretic, and burned at the stake in 1498. Unlike the Hussite movement in Bohemia, his influence died with him.

SAVONAROLA.

The reform movements of Ximenes and Savonarola were orthodox efforts to effect an adjustment of the church to the modern spirit which was manifesting itself in the great movement called the Renaissance. The term means literally "rebirth," and is applied especially to the intellectual and artistic revival which, beginning in Italy about the year 1300, went steadily on throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Fundamentally, it was an awakening of the human intellect to wider fields of activity; it was the recovery of the freedom of individual thought and action. In the Middle Ages the individual was nothing; the guild, the commune, the church, were everything. The world and the flesh were regarded as evil, and their influence was to be combated. Curiosity was to be repressed; hence natural science, which is based on observation and investigation, made

235. Decay of mediævalism

little progress. The learning most worth having was theology, the basis of which was revelation; and with it flourished philosophy (the handmaid of theology), and law — the importance of which was due to the incessant conflicts of papacy and empire, of church and state.

236. Revival of learning

With the fourteenth century a new way of looking at things began in Italy to manifest itself. Human life and this world were viewed as things good in themselves, and not merely as a means of preparation for the world to come. Men began to give way to the stirrings of curiosity in matters hitherto neglected. A new interest was taken in the monuments of antiquity. Throughout the Middle Ages, Vergil, Cicero, and others of the best Latin authors were read as models of style, however imperfectly they were followed; but their content was feared as pagan. Now they began to be read for meaning as well as style; and in them men found that spirit of individualism, of "humanism," of which they were beginning to be conscious in their own breasts.

"The expression of the human mind in the Middle Ages had been scholasticism, that is to say, the interpretation of texts; the expression of the humanistic spirit was reason, that is to say, the affirmation of truth, evident or demonstrated." A new and exaggerated reverence for antiquity sprang up; and because the classical authors were now understood, men profited by their style as never before. Better Latin began to be written; and Greek, the knowledge of which had gradually died out in the West, was relearned from Constantinople. "Greece has not fallen," said an Italian scholar after the fall of Constantinople; "but seems to have migrated to Italy." Under the impulse of the new love for learning, the libraries of the monasteries of Europe were ransacked, and many lost works were recovered. Critical scholarship was born in the task of identifying and

Lavisse, General View, 135

Creighton, Papacy, III. 165

editing these treasures, and grammars and dictionaries were compiled for their interpretation.

237. Classic study and vernacular literature

The chief representatives of the revival of learning, in the fourteenth century, were Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch (1304–1374) was born near Florence, spent his boyhood at Avignon, and in manhood passed from one Italian court to another. He longed passionately for a revival of the glories of ancient Rome, and was the first who zealously collected Latin manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. He tried ineffectually to learn Greek in order that he might read Homer; and in countless letters, each an essay in finished Latin style, he spread broadcast the cultured and inquiring humanist spirit. Boccaccio (1313–1375) also was a Florentine; with much difficulty he gained some knowledge of Greek, and was the author of valuable dictionaries of classical mythology and geography. In the fifteenth century scores of humanists, of lesser genius but greater learning, carried on the work begun by these two.

Along with the revival of learning went another movement, which also owed much to Petrarch and Boccaccio. The Italian, French, and English tongues, and later the German, were raised to the rank of literary languages, and vernacular literatures were created. The Florentine poet Dante (1265–1321) represents "the glimmer of the dawn" of the Renaissance. Born amid the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline, he spent his later life in the wanderings of political exile. His epic poem, the *Divine Comedy*, was not merely the first important literary work in Italian, but was the first great piece of modern literature, one of the masterpieces of all time. Petrarch's *Sonnets* showed that the Italian language was adapted to lyric poetry; and Boccaccio, in a series of short stories called the *Decameron*, became the father of Italian prose. In England the poet Chaucer (1340–1400) used the language of the people for his *Canterbury Tales*; and Wyclif used the same tongue in much

of his writing and preaching. In Germany the development of a literature in the people's tongue was aided by the work of Martin Luther in the sixteenth century.

Architecture, sculpture, and painting also felt the new impulse, and flowered into masterpieces such as the world had not seen since the days of classical Greece. In architecture the classical revival was felt early in the fifteenth century, when men restored the style of ancient Rome, adapted to the requirements of modern ecclesiastical, civic, and domestic building. Bramante (1444–1514) was foremost

238. The fine arts in Italy

St. Peter's, at Rome. (Present condition; erected 1506–1626.)

in this work, and to him Rome owes the original plan and part of the completed structure of the church of St. Peter's. Michael Angelo (Michelangelo, 1475–1564) illustrates the many-sidedness of the Italian Renaissance by the preëminence which he attained alike in architecture, sculpture, and painting. He superintended the building of St. Peter's, and added the towering dome; sculptured many figures, of which those

of David, Moses, and the figures for the Medici monument at Florence are perhaps most famous; and painted a series of biblical pictures for the Sistine Chapel at Rome, of which his fresco of the Last Judgment is probably the most famous single picture in the world; in addition he was a poet of no mean note. In painting, the Italian Renaissance reached its height in the period 1470–1550, which saw the works of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Raphael (1483–1520), and others, as well as those of Michael Angelo. In Venice the movement was of somewhat later origin than elsewhere in Italy; but a Venetian school, of which Titian (1477–1576) was foremost, gained fame for its brilliant and accurate coloring.

239. Science and criticism

The critical spirit which was developed in the study of the ancient authors passed into criticism of mediæval philosophy, mediæval science, and mediæval religion. Scholastic philosophy lost its hold upon the world, and the writings of Plato were read along with those of Aristotle, whose works now became known in the original Greek. Medicine profited by the dissection of the human body; but it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that an English physician, Harvey, completely demonstrated the circulation of the blood. Chemistry made important strides, though to many investigators it was only a means to find the mythical "philosopher's stone," with which to turn base metals to gold. Mathematics also experienced some advances.

Above all, the study of the stars passed from the astrologer to the astronomer. For centuries the teaching of the Greek philosopher Ptolemy had prevailed, which made the earth the center of the universe, about which turned sun, moon, and stars. Copernicus (1473–1543) now taught that the sun is the center about which the earth revolves with the other planets, turning at the same time upon its axis. Galileo (1564–1642), with the aid of the telescope, which he so improved as to make

practically a new invention, explored the heavens and made discovery after discovery; but because of the opposition of the theologians, he was obliged to withdraw as heretical the teaching, which he borrowed from Copernicus, that the earth moves around the sun.

The same sort of critical investigation which led to these scientific discoveries enabled Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457) to prove that the alleged Donation of Constantine (§ 63), by which were defended some of the papal claims to temporal power, was a clumsy forgery.

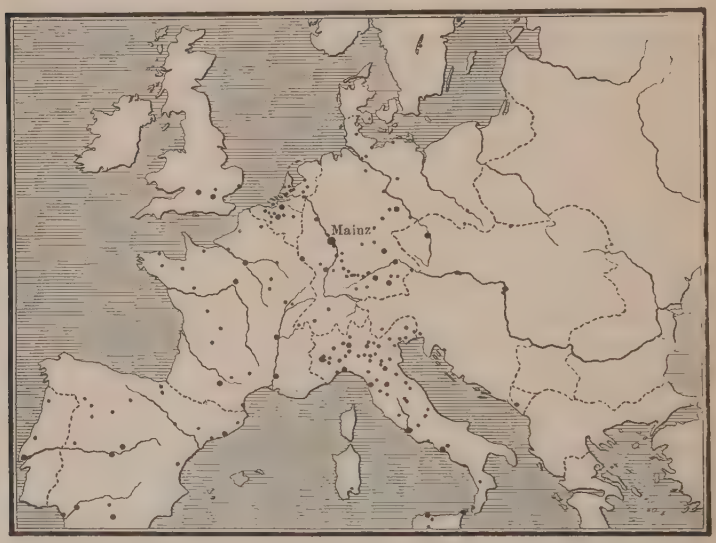
240. Arts of war and navigation

A development of the arts of war and of navigation also marked this period. The improvements in the arms and handling of foot soldiers, which made them superior to the mounted and armored knights (§§ 185, 193, 215), were accompanied by the introduction of gunpowder, which robbed the feudal castle of its strength. From a very early date gunpowder was used in India and China for rockets and fireworks. Its introduction into Europe, and use in cannon, took place in the fourteenth century; but it was not until the fifteenth that improvements in its composition and in appliances made it an effective instrument of war. The musket and pistol do not appear until the sixteenth century.

The art of navigation also owed much to the Far East. About 1300 the mariner's compass was introduced into Europe from China, where it had long been known; and the astrolabe and cross-staff, used to ascertain latitude, were adapted to purposes of navigation in the fifteenth century: these were among the few instruments possessed by Columbus and Vasco da Gama on their famous voyages. Longitude, however, could not be reckoned with any degree of accuracy until the invention of the watch, in the eighteenth century, made comparatively easy its calculation by differences of time.

Geographical knowledge was greatly increased by the acceptance of the view that the earth is a sphere (a fact known to

the ancients, but rejected on theological grounds by the Middle Ages), and by a system of rational maps in place of fantastic and mythical representations of the world. In the sixteenth century the invention of Mercator's projection — a form of map in which all meridians and parallels are straight lines intersecting at right angles — made possible sea charts for compass sailing on courses drawn as straight lines.



SPREAD OF PRINTING DURING THE FIFTY YEARS FOLLOWING ITS INTRODUCTION INTO MAINZ.

The boundaries are modern.

241. Invention of printing (about 1450)

The intellectual awakening came earliest in Italy, and gradually spread to the lands beyond the Alps. The great church councils of the fifteenth century were an important help in its spread by bringing the scholars of Italy into touch with those of other lands. The greatest aid, however, was afforded by the invention of printing. As late as 1350 practically all books in Europe were prepared entirely with the pen. Some time after that date the practice arose of

printing tracts and short books, for which there was a large sale, from engraved blocks of wood. Such crude "block books" were a step in advance; but it was not until separate types were cast in metal, making possible their use in many combinations, that the art of printing was really born. The honor of this invention is usually given to Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, in Germany, who printed from movable types about the year 1450; but the date, place, and original discoverer of the art are all disputed. The invention cheapened books and spread broadcast the means of culture. By the end of the century, printers had established themselves in more than two hundred places in Europe, and books and pamphlets were multiplied at an unprecedented rate. Leaflets containing woodcut pictures, illustrating the questions of the day, made an equally powerful appeal to the illiterate.

242. The Renaissance beyond the Alps

In Italy, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, scholars became almost pagan in their devotion to the learning of Greece and Rome; and frank disregard of religion and morality spread among all classes. North of the Alps a more serious tone characterized the movement; without neglecting the classical authors, scholars turned more to the study of early Christian writers. In England, John Colet, dean of St. Paul's cathedral at London, labored for an educational and religious revival. In Germany, Reuchlin became the center of a bitter literary and theological quarrel, because of his Hebrew studies and his desire to save the books of the Jews from burning at the hands of bigoted scholastics; and to defend him, a group of younger humanists, of whom the brilliant but dissolute Ulrich von Hutten was one, published a series of satirical letters entitled *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, purporting to be written by Reuchlin's opponents, and designed to cast ridicule upon them as a stupid party.

The best example of northern humanism is offered by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536). After passing a few

years in a Netherlands monastery, he studied at Paris, in England, and in Italy; his home thenceforth was wherever there were literary friends, books, and a printing press. In biting satire he attacked the evil lives of monks, the arrogance of theologians, and superstition and ignorance everywhere. He devoted himself especially to editing and printing works of the early church fathers, and thus became the founder of a more learned and comprehensive theology. Scores of books were published by him: the most widely read, perhaps, was his satirical *Praise of Folly*; the most important was his edition of the New Testament (1516), making accessible, for the first time in a printed volume, the original Greek text. Owing to the knowledge of Latin possessed by all educated men, his works were everywhere read. He desired a reformation in the church "without tumult," carried through by education and by appeal to the reason. In his own day he possessed an influence such as few scholars have had. Though his plan of orderly reform could not avert the uprising against the church, his work profoundly affected that movement as well as the church itself. "The Reformation that has been," says a writer of our own time, "is Luther's monument: perhaps the Reformation that is to be will trace itself back to Erasmus."

243. Erasmus (1467-1536)

ERASMUS.
From the painting by Holbein.

Beard, Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, 73

In reviewing the history of the seven centuries between 800 and 1500, we see Europe in a constant state of transformation.

The prosperity of Charlemagne's reign was followed by the political and ecclesiastical disintegration of the ninth and tenth centuries. Through feudalism, military efficiency was recovered and the Continent saved from conquest threatened by Saracens, Hungarians, and Northmen.

244. Summary of the Middle Ages

The refounding of the Holy Roman Empire by Otto I. (962) again gave Europe theoretical political unity, and led to the purification of the papacy and the church through the Cluniac reforms (tenth and eleventh centuries). The conflicting claims of papacy and empire then produced a series of struggles between these world powers, lasting from 1075 to 1268: these include the Investiture Conflict (1075–1122) begun between Gregory VII. and Henry IV.; the long struggle with Frederick Barbarossa; and the contest which ended in the death of Frederick II. (1250) and the final downfall of the Hohenstaufens (1268).

National states meanwhile were arising; and with France, the first of these, the papacy came into disastrous conflict in 1296–1303. Then followed the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon, the Great Schism, and the church councils, which ended the papacy as a world power. The political supremacy of France which followed was checked by a long war with England (1337–1453); and again at the end of the period it was about to be eclipsed by the newly grown power of Spain.

The Crusades (1096–1291) were almost exactly contemporaneous with the struggle of papacy and empire. In one view they were an expansion of Europe eastward; similar movements were the conquests from the Slavs on the northeast of Germany, the Northman colonization of Iceland and Greenland, and the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries of the fifteenth century. The Middle Ages were also the period of the rise and vigor of the towns, of the universities, and of monastic organizations of various sorts. Chivalry, scholasticism, and Gothic art are manifestations of the earlier period, which

gradually change as the revival of learning grew in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All in all, the Middle Ages were a period of transformation, when the old classical civilization, Christianity, the vigorous Teutonic races, and elements drawn from the Mohammedan East combined in bewildering variety. It was essentially the period when Europe became Europe, and made ready to found new Europes across the seas.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Was Urban VI. or Clement VII. the true Pope? Give your reasons. (2) Why should England and France take opposite sides in the Great Schism? (3) Compare the powers claimed by the Council of Constance with Gregory VII.'s memorandum of the powers of the papacy. (4) Was the council's claim constitutional or revolutionary? Was it necessary or unnecessary? (5) Why did the councils fail to reform the abuses in the church? (6) Compare the character and European position of the Popes after the councils with the character and European position of Pope Innocent III. (7) Contrast the mediæval with the modern way of looking at the world. (8) Why was scholasticism insufficient as an intellectual training? (9) Why should the revival of learning come first in Italy? (10) How did printing help on the Renaissance? (11) Why were the northern humanists more serious and religious-minded than the Italian?

Search topics

(12) Effects of the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism on the papacy. (13) Incidents of the Council of Constance. (14) John Huss. (15) The Emperor Sigismund. (16) The papacy under Julius II. (17) The reforms of Ximenes in Spain. (18) Savonarola. (19) Dante. (20) Petrarch. (21) Michael Angelo. (22) Raphael. (23) Leonardo da Vinci. (24) Invention of printing. (25) Reuchlin. (26) Erasmus. (27) Discoveries of ancient works of art. (28) Discoveries of ancient literary works.

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Diacritic marks: ā as in *late*; ă as in *fat*; ä as in *far*; á as in *last*; â as in *care*; a̲ as in *fall*; e, eh, as in *cask*, *chasm*; ę as in *ice*; ĕ as in *me*; ę̆ as in *met*, *berry*; e̲ as in *veil*; ē as in *term*; ê as in *there*; ẹ as in *novel*; ġ as in *gem*; g as in *go*; ɢ, German *ch*; ī as in *ice*; ĭ as in *tin*; ï as in *police*; ĸ, German *ch*; *n* as in *finger*; ɴ, the French nasal; ō as in *note*; ŏ as in *not*; ô as in *son*; ȯ as in *for*; o̲ as in *do*; o̤ as in *wolf*; s̲ as in *news*; ū as in *tune*; ŭ as in *nut*; u̲ as in *rude* (=o̲); ṳ as in *full*; ü, French *u*; ȳ as in *my*; y̆ as in *lady*. Single italic letters are silent.

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